

CARPATHO~RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



FROM THE EDITOR

1987 is a year of change for the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*. Most of you are aware of the decision on the part of Pat Onufrak and John Righetti to step down from their posts as Editor and Assistant Editor in the face of the pressing demands of family and career. Their decisions were not taken lightly and they will both be sorely missed. They did exemplary jobs during their tenure with the newsletter, and though they will not be an official part of the staff, they will continue to support the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* and make contributions to it from time to time and will, of course, maintain their strong commitments to the Carpatho-Rusyn community. All of us extend our heartfelt thanks to John Righetti and Pat Onufrak for their past contributions and look forward to working with them again as circumstances permit.

The Winter 1986 issue introduced your new editorial staff, myself (John Haluska) and Andy Kovaly. We both appreciate the vote of confidence the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center has given in entrusting us with the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*. Our intent is not only to maintain the quality the newsletter has been known for since its inception, but to make it an even more valuable asset to the Carpatho-Rusyn community. With that in mind, you will find a questionnaire included as part of this issue. Our intent is to determine what you, the readers, want of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* and to respond to your requests as our talents and resources allow. Please take the time to complete and return the survey, and we will publish the results and our response to them in subsequent issues. We eagerly look forward to the results of the survey to help us chart the future course of our publication.

One result we are anticipating is a request for an expanded newsletter. Therefore, each issue in 1987 will have a minimum of twelve pages. The special circumstances of this issue require sixteen pages, but twelve should be the norm for this year. This modest expansion will accommodate a more comprehensive "Rusyn Forum" column and a larger "From Our Readers" column. The other areas will remain unchanged with the exception of "Recent Publications" which, in expectation of the soon-to-be-published annotated bibliography of Carpatho-Rusyn studies, will only list here titles of works.

In the expanded "From Our Readers" column, we will print, as space allows, a wide range of opinion from our readers. Since no other publication of our Carpatho-Rusyn ethnic and religious press has the equivalent of an open editorial page, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* will provide one. We will not steer clear of controversy and will gladly print commentary critical of ourselves and our positions and of other institutions or personalities of our community. We will require that all letters be signed and include a return address and phone number so that authorship can be verified. We will always take pains to publicize all sides of any issue.

This issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* inaugurates a series of articles which will deal extensively with the Lemko aspect of our people's story. My first introduction to this tragic tale was a personal one, coming from what are now mostly vaguely recalled conversations with my relatives

about letters from Europe telling of aunts and cousins who had been forced from their homes in Poland in the late 1940s to the Ukraine. Many did not survive the journey, and the one thing I vividly remember from those mysterious letters is that those who died were described by the survivors as having been dumped from a train or tossed from a wagon. And if they had been buried, those who wrote did not know by whom or where for they had not been allowed to attend to the dead.

The living went to the Ukraine or to northern Poland, and my relatives went to both. Of those who went to the Ukraine, only one survived, and she and her new husband eventually made their way to the others and settled with them near Braniewo in Poland. What they had not already been forced to abandon in their native village of Radocyna, they subsequently lost during their return on foot — with just the clothes on their back — from the Ukraine. That they survived at all is remarkable considering their age and the rigors of their trek. Yet even this was not extraordinary in comparison to the hardships so many others faced.

What is astonishing in all this is not just the strength of these poor individual Lemko refugees but their resilience as a people. Having suffered so much for so long at the hands of so many, it is amazing that the Lemkos have survived at all, let alone that we are witness to what we all hope will be a successful revival in the homeland. Our 1987 series will not just attend to the dead, it will celebrate the living and give testimony to the continued existence of the Lemko people and their struggle to survive.

There is much for the Rusyn-American community to learn from the experience of our Lemko brothers. If they can survive what fate has dealt them and can manage a revival, we in the West should certainly be able to renew our own community and fulfill our responsibility to our forebears who endured so much to establish our people here. It always astounds me that we have every opportunity to preserve and strengthen our nationality, yet we do so little. Most of our people go to great pains not to admit, let alone celebrate, their Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in a country in which they have every opportunity to do so. Even our Rusyn institutions, our churches and fraternals, seem to avoid public identification with their Rusyn heritage, seeking instead success in the illusion of America's melting pot at the expense of the unique Carpatho-Rusyn nationality their founders struggled so hard to protect. It will be ironic if the Lemkos succeed in resurrecting themselves in their own hostile world while America's Carpatho-Rusyns fade away. However, I think that the joy and pride we can feel for their successes will give us strength to work for ours. If so few can raise themselves up again in Eastern Europe, surely there is still hope for our people here.

We also memorialize Andy Warhol in this issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*. Although famous for his artistic work, his heritage was often obscured. Often reticent about his roots, he was born, lived, died, and was buried a Carpatho-Rusyn, and he was probably not as far removed from the artistic traditions of his people as most believe. Andy Warhol's memorium is the work of Jerry Jumba, an instructor at the Advanced Cantors' Institute in the Byzantine Catholic Archdiocese of Pittsburgh. At the request of the Warhola family, he cantored at the funeral services.

JULIJAN KOLESAR

There is perhaps only a handful of Rusyn Americans who know that since the 1960s two important painters of Carpatho-Rusyn background have lived and worked in North America. Undoubtedly the most famous within American and international cultural circles is Andy Warhol, the son of Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants who first became renowned in the world of art (and cinema) during the 1960s. Despite the fact that both his parents were natives of the Prešov Region, there is little if anything in Warhol's canvases that relates to his Carpatho-Rusyn heritage.

Much different is the work of Julijan Kolesar, who this year (1987) is celebrating his sixtieth anniversary. Kolesar came to the New World less than two decades ago, and his art has remained deeply impregnated with the Carpatho-Rusyn religious and secular culture he left behind in Europe.

Julijan Kolesar was born in 1927 in Djurdevo, a village in the Vojvodina region of present-day Yugoslavia inhabited in large part by the Vojvodinian or Bačka Rusyns. His parents, Dragen and Milana (née Hornjak) Kolesar, worked as peasant farmers and were descendants of those Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants who in the eighteenth century began settling in the Bačka and Srem regions of what was then the southern part of the Hungarian Kingdom and which after 1918 became part of the new state of Yugoslavia. Despite geographic separation from their Prešov Region homeland (which they call *Hornicja*—the mountainous region), the Carpatho-Rusyns of the Bačka (at present Vojvodina) and Srem regions have been able to preserve their Carpatho-Rusyn language and culture to this very day. In fact, it is only in present-day Yugoslavia where the local Rusyns (or Rusnaks as they call themselves) have their own distinct East Slavic literary language taught in schools and used in publications, on radio, and even TV. It is from this patriotic Bačka-Srem Rusyn environment that Julijan Kolesar derives.

After completing his studies in 1954 at the School of Applied Arts in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, Kolesar began his career as a professional artist by participating in several exhibits in his homeland. He also began to write poetry, and his first book of verse, *Kol'iska slunkova* (The Sunny Cradle), appeared in 1969. By the late 1960s, he travelled abroad, first to Bruxelles and Paris, and in 1970 to the United States where he lived for a few years in New York and Philadelphia. In 1973, he left for Montreal and has remained in Canada since then.

Kolesar's art is marked by a wide variety of style and technique. His paintings range from icons that follow the rigid guidelines of Eastern Christian medieval iconography to the even more frequently neo-realist, expressionist, and abstract canvases that remind one of the earliest currents in twentieth-century painting. These stylistic peregrinations suggest that Kolesar is continually experimenting and searching for whatever medium and style can express best his fecund artistic imagination.

If stylistic experimentation is one of the hallmarks of Kolesar's art, the other is the lingering influence of his Rusyn (Rusnak) heritage. This is particularly evident in the themes of his paintings, whether specifically based on Rusyn village life or on East Slavic culture in general, and also in the rich and creative use of bright and vibrant colors that are so



reminiscent of the folk art of his native culture. And whereas Kolesar has also done paintings that are seemingly typical of contemporary Canadian or American art and that have no particular ethnic content, it is nonetheless works that draw on his Carpatho-Rusyn heritage that predominate in his creative corpus to date.

That traditional Rusyn culture remains a fertile source for Kolesar's art is related to his continual research into the historical and especially ethnographic and cultural heritage of his native land. In fact, since settling in Canada, Kolesar has become a prolific writer as well as painter. Since 1973, he has published over one hundred works on some aspect of Rusyn history, ethnography, language, literature, and art. All appear in his native Bačka-Rusyn language (which he calls the Pannonian Rusyn language), and all have been printed by himself under the nominal sponsorship of the "Julijan Kolesarov Rusnak Institute of America," which he set up in 1975. Therefore, scholars interested in the Vojvodinian (Bačka) Rusyns of Yugoslavia as well as art lovers have much to learn and appreciate from the prolific artistic and literary work of Kolesar that has appeared in the last two decades.

Julijan Kolesar is one of those rare examples of a talented recent immigrant of Carpatho-Rusyn background who has enriched himself and the artistic world of North America by researching, reshaping, drawing upon, and sharing with others his rich and unique ethnocultural heritage. For that we are all grateful, and on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday we wish him many more years of creative endeavors.

Philip Michaels

IN MEMORIAM: ANDY WARHOL (1928-1987)

In the 1960s, Andy Warhol gained virtually instant fame as one of America's most innovative artists. Although he came to be a most public figure, his natural shyness served to obscure the fact that he was of Carpatho-Rusyn background. Most of his work was done in New York City, but he never left his Pittsburgh roots or his Carpatho-Rusyn heritage far behind. His unique sensibility was shaped by Pittsburgh influences, including ethnocultural ties, religious life, Byzantine iconography, art classes at Schenley High School, Hornes department store display windows, and the artist and teacher Robert Lepper at the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon University).

As an internationally recognized painter, photographic craftsman, film maker, and pop art celebrity, Warhol appeared reluctant to discuss his origins. Once when asked about his background, he replied, "Why don't you make it up?" In dealing with the media, he liked to be mysterious, provocative, and even something of a riddle. Perhaps this is why a number of contradictory statements from reputable reference books and newspapers have appeared.

The facts of Andy Warhol's background were revealed through discussions between the Warhola family and Dr. Paul R. Magocsi who wrote: "Andy Warhol was born as Andrew Warhola in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1928. Both his parents came from Miková, a tiny Carpatho-Rusyn mountain village just west of Medzilborce in the Prešov Region of northeastern Slovakia." (*Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1980, p.3)

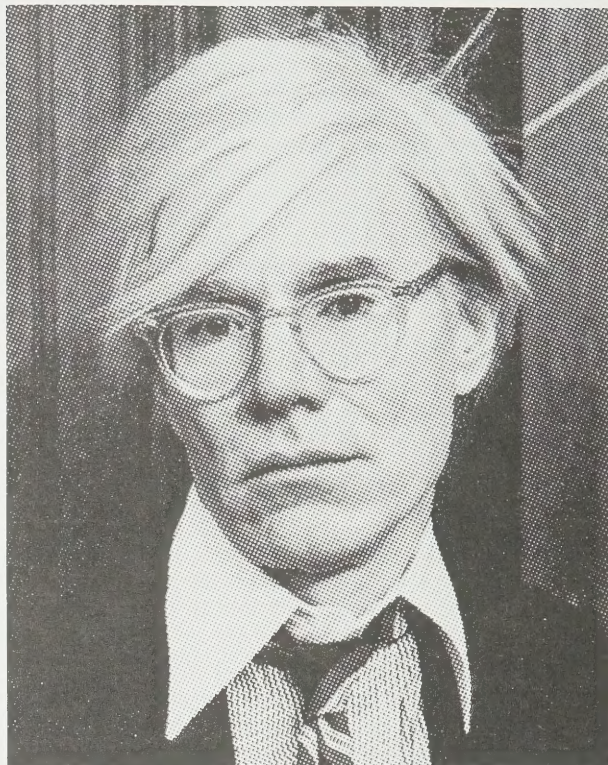
Family ties were important, because the brothers John, Paul, and Andy had lived through some hard times. Their family was always close to the church. John Warhola commented on Andy: "When Andy was a boy, we thought he was going to be a priest. Even under pressure, he never swore. He believed in working hard." Paul and John Warhola vacationed with Andy nearly every year in New York City, where Andy attended church and was a supporting member of St. Mary's Byzantine Catholic parish on East 15th Street in Manhattan. Among his New York staff it is common knowledge that at 1 p.m., for 15 minutes everyday, he stopped to pray at a nearby Roman Catholic Church, St. Vincent Ferrer. Finally, we recall that in 1968, when Andy was shot, he called upon a Byzantine Catholic priest from Manhattan for anointing and the last rights.

After Andy Warhol died in a New York hospital on February 22, 1987, the older brothers, John and Paul Warhola came to take his body home to Pittsburgh.

From listening to the family, one can easily gather that the Warhola clan would hope that Andy Warhol is remembered as a creative sensibility whose art made a social commentary which was provocative and artistic enough to justify its existence. They hope that his work will endure as a continuing influence.

As for being accused of indulgence in self flattery and being an elitist, Warhol had a sense of humor about the artist's image. He gave an insight into his thinking when he said in a 1979 interview, "You can do anything you want, anytime."

A number of writers about contemporary art have used the fascinating expression "pop icon" to describe much of



Warhol's art. Perhaps Warhol's religious and ethnocultural roots can help to explain some of the energy behind the leap from Warhol's early commercial art to his pop iconography. His idealization and interpretation of secular images from show biz selections, comic strips, ad pages, and television were prefigured in an ancient yet classic style of Eastern Christian art emanating from the Byzantine era.

Warhol was raised in a religious Carpatho-Rusyn family that practices Byzantine Rite Catholicism. In his formative years from 1928 to 1949, he was exposed to the many icons which were so common in Rusyn-American homes, prayer-books, and churches: icons depicting a matter-of-fact yet other wordly presence and images resonating a spiritual message in just two dimensions de-emphasizing the flesh and pointing to the dominance of the spirit. These were the images of Andy's youth.

On Thursday, February 26, 1987, Andy Warhol received a traditional Byzantine Catholic funeral service with a liturgy that hails back to Christian centers of Byzantium. The service was in English, but some Church Slavonic was also sung. Internment was at St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Cemetery in Castle Shannon, a suburb of Pittsburgh. Andy was buried next to his parents. There, at the gravesite, his associates from New York mourned together with family and friends over the passing of a great man whose personality, talent, energy, and passion for work had inspired them. The burial ended with the chanted prayer:

This grave is being sealed until the second coming of Christ, in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. Grant eternal memory, O Lord, and give him blessed repose. Vičnaja pamjat', blažennyj pokoj, vičnaja jemu pamjat', Andreju.

Jerry Jumba
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

THE LEMKO RUSYNS: THEIR PAST AND PRESENT

During the past decade, many Americans have written the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center inquiring about their ethnic origins. Quite often these people are parishioners in an Orthodox "Russian" church and they know that their parents or grandparents came from the Carpathian mountain region of old Austria. Sometimes they have more specific information: that their ancestors actually came from the province of Galicia, from mountain villages near the towns of Sanok, Krosno, Gorlice, or Nowy Sącz that are today in Poland.

Russians, Austrians, Galicians, Poles — who are these people and where did their forbears actually come from? What was it like in the old country and what is it like today? To anticipate our story, here are some quick answers: (1) the people in question are the people of Rus', who traditionally call themselves Lemkos, Rusnaks, or Rusyns (rendered sometimes in English incorrectly as Russians); (2) their European homeland is known as the Lemko Region, in the historic province of Galicia, which was once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and since 1918 is part of Poland; (3) today most of the Lemko Region has been emptied of Lemko Rusyns, who were forcibly driven from their homeland forty years ago.

Therefore, this year — 1987 — is the fortieth anniversary of the forced deportation of Lemko Rusyns from their native land. On this occasion, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* decided to introduce the Lemko Region to its readers and at

the same time to commemorate this most tragic event of the recent past. The present article will provide some geographic and historic background information for articles on various aspects of the Lemko Region and Lemko Rusyns that will appear in the next several issues of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*.

Geographic Location

Like their brethren living south of the Carpathian crests, the Lemko Rusyns traditionally inhabited the mountain valleys and foothills on the northern slopes stretching from the Dunajec River in the west to the San River in the east. This area is geographically marked by the gently rolling hills of the Lower Beskyd range and the higher and more rugged Upper Beskyds (Bieszczady) with peaks between 3000 and 4000 feet in the far east. Several passes in the Lower Beskyds, the most famous known as the Dukla Pass, had at least before the establishment of strictly controlled borders in the twentieth century afforded easy access to the southern slopes of the mountains inhabited by fellow Carpatho-Rusyns.

According to present-day political divisions, the Lemko Region is located within the far southeastern corner of Poland, divided between two administrative units known as the Nowy Sącz and Krosno palatinates (*województwa*). However, it is the old administrative districts (*powity*) that are best remembered when describing the various parts of the Lemko Region. These are named after the district centers



The Carpatho-Rusyn homeland today. Map reproduced from Paul R. Magocsi, *Our People*, p. 4.

and from west to east they include: Nowy Targ (Rusyn: Nowyj Targ), Nowy Sącz (Novyj Sańč), Grybów (Grybov), Gorlice (Gorlyci), Jasło, Krosno, Sanok (Sjanok), and Lisko (Lesko). On the eve of World War II, there were 178,000 Carpatho-Rusyns living in 303 villages located in the southern sectors of the above-named eight districts.

Actually, most scholars consider that on linguistic and ethnographic grounds the Lemko Rusyns extend only as far as the Oslawa and Solinka River valleys, excluding therefore most of Lisko county. But Lemko writers and publicists both in Europe and in the United States consider their homeland to extend as far as the San River. Moreover, the Lemko Region, together with the Prešov Region (now in Czechoslovakia) and Subcarpathian Rus' (now in the Soviet Union), forms the historic land of Carpathian Rus'.

Early History

The Lemko Region seems to have been inhabited by the earliest Slavic tribes known as the White Croats, who came to the area in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. For a long time, however, the mountains remained a sparsely settled frontier region between three medieval states that were formed during the tenth century — Kievan Rus' in the east, Poland in the west, and Hungary in the south. The Lemko Region was actually divided between the Polish Kingdom and the Galician principality of Kievan Rus' roughly along a line above the Dukla Pass which was to remain the midpoint between the western and eastern portion of the Lemko-inhabited lands. The most important event during these early centuries was the coming of Christianity in its eastern or Byzantine form, which reached the Carpathians via the west (the Cyril and Methodian mission in the late ninth century) and the east (Kievan Rus' after 988). This meant that the Lemko Region was to remain within the sphere of the Eastern Christian or Orthodox world.

With the fall of an independent Galicia in the mid-fourteenth century, the whole Lemko Region came definitively under Poland. The Polish kings encouraged settlement of the area, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the newcomers began to reach the mountainous areas. Most of these settlers were Rusyns from the east as well as the so-called Vlachs from the south (actually Rusyns and perhaps some Romanians designated as Vlachs because of their work as shepherds). To attract settlers to the generally infertile mountainous area, the Polish kings and landlords provided tax-free incentives, so that the small-scale Rusyn farmers in the valleys and the shepherds in the mountains were generally left alone by governmental authorities.

In the seventeenth century, Polish landlords tried to extend actual control over the Lemko Region, but their attempt to introduce serfdom and to increase taxes and other duties among the peasants and shepherds basically failed. This was due to the general inaccessibility of the highland region and, in part, to armed bands of mountaineers led by Robin Hood-type leaders, the most famous in the Lemko Region being Vasyl' Bajus from Leszczyny (Liščyny) and Andrij Savka from Dukla.

The seventeenth century also witnessed another kind of attempt to impose Polish or western influence on the Orthodox Rusyns. Already in 1596, several Orthodox Rus' bishops in Poland agreed to the provisions of the Union of Brest, which united them with Rome and brought into being the

Uniate Church. It was not until the very end of the century (1692) that the bishop of Przemyśl, who was responsible for the Lemko Region, finally accepted the Union. But even this did not really effect the Rusyn masses, since they continued to practice the Byzantine rite (with its liturgy in Church Slavonic) and to use the Julian calendar (at that time 14 days "behind" the western Gregorian calendar). Moreover, these cultural characteristics, together with their East Slavic language, was what distinguished Rusyns from the Poles living in the lowland villages.

Austrian Rule

The rather lax and ineffective aspects of Polish rule came to an end after 1772. In that year, the first partition of Poland took place (the whole country was to disappear from the map by 1795), whereby the Lemko Region was annexed by the Habsburg-ruled Austrian Empire. Now part of the Austrian province of Galicia, the Lemko Region became subject to Habsburg decrees issued from the imperial capital in Vienna. While it is true that the peasants were liberated from serfdom in 1848, before then they had never been greatly burdened by feudal obligations to faraway landlords generally uninterested in unproductive mountainous lands. But the Austrian government prohibited free use of the forest and it carefully registered all land holdings in order to have a better control for assessing and collecting taxes.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the pastoral lands in the Lemko Region had been taken over by farmers, although their plots were continually subdivided and unable to support a growing population. In the absence of any industry in nearby cities, the Lemko Rusyns began to seek extra income by crossing the mountains each summer to do harvest work on the Hungarian plain. Then, beginning in the 1870s, a few Rusyns from the Lemko Region began to go to the United States, where they would work for a few years and then return home to buy land — incidentally pushing up prices and driving fellow villagers into even deeper poverty.

While it is true that extreme poverty seemed to be characteristic of the Lemko Region in the decades before World War I, there were some benefits under the benign rule of the Habsburg Emperor Franz Joseph (reigned 1848-1916). Austria had a constitutional system governed by the rule of law, so that Lemko Rusyns were not discriminated against because of their religion or ethnic identity. In that regard, the second half of the nineteenth century also allowed for the beginning of cultural activity.

Some Lemko Rusyns were even able to make distinguished careers, especially in the ranks of the Uniate, or as it was renamed by the Austrians, the Greek Catholic Church. Among these were two metropolitans: Josyf Sembratovyč (consecrated 1870) and Syl'vester Sembratovyč (consecrated 1885); and three bishops: Toma Poljans'kyj (consecrated 1864), Julijan Peleš (consecrated 1885), and Josafat Kocylov's'kyj (consecrated 1916).

With regard to the population as a whole, elementary schools were set up in nearly two-thirds of the Lemko villages and *gymnasias* (high schools) were opened in the nearby towns of Nowy Sącz, Gorlice, and Sanok. The region was also exposed to the nationality question that faced all of Galician society; namely, were the inhabitants who called themselves Rusyns part of the Russian nationality or Ukrainian nationality, or perhaps did they form a distinct

Slavic group? In the Lemko Region, it was clear that the pro-Russian (Russophile) orientation was the strongest, and it was promoted by the 109 reading rooms established by the Kačkovs'kyj Cultural Society.

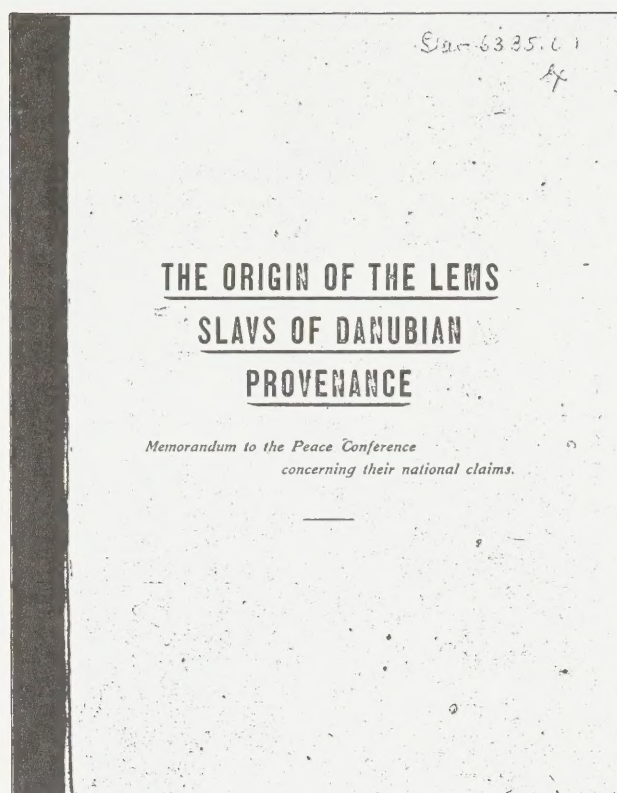
It was also at this time that the name Lemko was first introduced. Until then, the inhabitants had always called themselves Rusyns or Rusnaks, and although the common folk continued to use their ancient name, local leaders preferred to designate those Rusyns who lived north of the Carpathians and west of the San River as Lemkos. (The term derives from the preposition *lem*, meaning only, which is actually used in all Carpatho-Rusyn dialects). The use of the new ethnic name was particularly evident in the first newspaper published for the group and aptly called *Lemko* (1911-16). Along with this cultural activity appeared the first modern Lemko writers like Vladimir Chyljak (pseudonym Ieronym Anonym), Kljavidija Aleksovyč, and Dmitryj Vysloc'kyj (pseudonym Van'o Hunjanka).

World War I

The stability and order in Lemko life that prevailed under Austrian rule began to break down on the eve of World War I. Austria-Hungary was especially suspicious of the Russian Empire and of the Orthodox movement that had begun to take hold in Galicia, in particular in the Carpathian region. Former Greek Catholic immigrants to the United States had returned home as Orthodox converts and they frequently encouraged the establishment of Orthodox churches in their native villages. For its part, the Austrian government suspected Orthodox priests and parishioners to be supporters of Russia (indeed, some Orthodox believers did see the Russian tsar as their earthly saviour), and Habsburg authorities even brought some clergy and peasants to trial on charges of treason.

This situation only worsened with the outbreak of World War I in August 1914. Within one month, tsarist Russia's armies had rolled into Galicia and controlled the province as far as the San River. Then, by March 1915, they moved farther west, bringing all of the Lemko Region under their control. For many months during the winter of 1914-1915, the western Lemko Region in particular was in the war zone and the scene of many bloody battles, the fiercest being near Gorlice in May 1915.

During its presence in the area, the Russian military and civil administration were friendly to the Orthodox and Russo-phile Lemkos, although they persecuted pro-Ukrainian activists. On the other hand, many Lemkos suffered at the hands of the Austrian administration both before the Russian military advance that began in August 1914 and its retreat from Galicia in June 1915. During those months, the retreating and then returning Austro-Hungarian forces summarily shot, hanged, or arrested priests and peasants simply because they called themselves Rusyns, said they spoke Rusyn (*rus'kyj*), or because they were Orthodox and suspected of being pro-Russian. This led to the first forced deportation of Lemkos in 1914-1915, which brought several thousand innocent peasants to Austrian concentration camps in the western part of the empire, the most infamous of which was at Talerhof near Graz, where they remained for the duration of the war. It is also from this time that the Ukrainian problem became an issue for many Lemkos. Some had fought with Ukrainian units in the Austro-Hungar-



ian Army during World War I, and as a result became conscious Ukrainian patriots. On the other hand, many who experienced the Talerhof internment blamed pro-Ukrainians in Galicia for having cooperated with the Austrian regime in "uncovering" Russian sympathizers or simply Rus' patriots among the Lemkos.

The Interwar Years

With the end of World War I and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the closing months of 1918, Carpatho-Rusyns in the Lemko Region like their brethren south of the mountains formed several national councils to decide the political fate of their homeland. On December 5, 1918, hundreds of Lemkos met in the village of Florynka (Grybów district) where they formed a Rusyn Council of the Lemko Region. Initial proposals to unite with Russia were rebuffed, and spokesmen like Andrej Gagatko and Dmitrij Visloc'kyj proposed instead to negotiate with fellow Rusyns south of the mountains who had just set up their own national council in Prešov. The goal was to have Lemko Rusyns join with their brethren in the Prešov Region to form a single Carpathian Rus' autonomous state within the new republic of Czechoslovakia. To achieve this, a joint Lemko and Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyn National Council was formed on December 21, 1918, which prepared several memoranda proposing a unified Carpathian Rus' "state" within Czechoslovakia. These were submitted to the new Czechoslovak government and to the Paris Peace Conference which in early 1919 was redrawing the boundaries of Europe.

While leaders in the western part of the Lemko Region were speaking of Rusyn national unity and seeking to unite with Czechoslovakia, some other Lemkos farther east under the leadership of the Greek Catholic priest Pantelejmon



Monument to those Lemkos who died during World War I at the Talerhof internment camp. Erected in 1933 in the village of Bartne.

Špil'ka, gathered at Komańcza (Sanok district) to declare their loyalty to the West Ukrainian People's Republic, which since November 1918 had been engaged in a fierce battle with the Poles in an effort to establish an independent Ukrainian state. However, the pro-Ukrainian Komańcza initiative lasted only a few weeks in February 1919, and four months later the Galician Ukrainian Army and government were driven entirely out of Galicia which henceforth was administered by the Poles.

The Poles were also able to block any efforts to have the Lemko Region unite with Czechoslovakia. Left for a while on its own, the Rusyn National Council in Florynka set up an administration headed by a local lawyer, Dr. Jaroslav Kačmarčyk. Popularly known as the Lemko Republic, it administered the western Lemko Region (Nowy Sącz, Grybów, and Gorlice districts) for nearly sixteen months. But by March 1920, the Polish government brought an end to Lemko "independence." Kačmarčyk was arrested (and later put on trial and acquitted), while other Lemko Republic Leaders fled to Czechoslovakia. In Poland, there was to be no question of a distinct Lemko political entity.

The interwar years in Poland were marked by a heightened political, national, and religious struggle for the allegiance of the Lemko Rusyns. In the political sphere, the Polish government tried its best to undermine Ukrainian influence by supporting the idea of Lemko distinctiveness,

allowing the Lemko Rusyn dialect to be taught in schools, and sometimes arguing that Lemkos were no more than an ethnographic branch of the Polish people. While it is true that during the interwar years many Polish publications began to overemphasize the affinity of Lemko to Polish culture, some of the best scholarly research ever done on the Lemko Region was begun in the 1930s by the Polish ethnographer Roman Reinfuss and Polish linguist Zdisław Stieber.

Ukrainian activists, on the other hand, argued that Lemkos were Ukrainians, and they were particularly successful in having a Ukrainian identity accepted by many inhabitants in the eastern Lemko Region (Sanok and Lisko districts). They made few inroads, however, in the western Lemko Region, and to counter the growing sense of Lemko distinctiveness there, pro-Ukrainian Lemkos established during the 1930s a Lemko Museum in Sanok and a Lemko Commission farther east in L'viv, which published a biweekly Ukrainian newspaper, *Naš lemko* (1934-39) and helped to promote the belletristic and cultural writings of Franc Kovyk, Hryhorij Hanuljak, and Julijan Tarnovyč (pseud. Julijan Beskyd).

With regard to religion, the movement to "return to Orthodoxy" that had begun before World War I, now increased rapidly. This was, in part, because Lemko villagers resented the Ukrainian orientation of the Greek Catholic Church, and instead associated Orthodoxy with their own Rus' identity. Concerned that the Greek Catholic Church was tied too closely to the Ukrainian movement and afraid, therefore, that this would alienate further the Lemkos, the Vatican decided in 1934 to establish a separate Greek Catholic Lemko Apostolic Administration with a pro-Rusyn, even Russophile oriented hierarchy under the Reverends Vasylij Macjuk and Jakov Medvec'kij.

As for the majority of Lemkos, they were struggling to survive economically. Interwar Poland remained an underdeveloped agrarian society and was unable to improve the economic situation. Not surprisingly, the poverty-stricken Lemkos were attracted to left-wing and pro-Soviet political parties that called for the establishment of a Communist society.

Lemkos also continued to emigrate abroad, to the United States and most especially to Canada. This increase in the number of Lemkos abroad, including national leaders like Dmitrij Visloc'kyj and Simeon Pysh, led to the establishment of the first Lemko-American newspapers (*Lemko*, 1928-39, *Karpatska Rus'*, 1938-present) and permanent organizations, such as the Lemko Association (Lemko Sojuz) in 1929 and the Carpatho-Russian American Center in 1939. Pro-Ukrainian Lemko immigrants founded their own Organization for the Defense of the Lemko Region in 1934. Besides trying to fulfill the social and cultural needs of Lemko immigrants, these organizations also sent moral and financial help to the European homeland.

In the homeland, the question of national identity — whether Lemko Rusyn, Russian, Ukrainian, or Polish — was still being fought over among the intelligentsia. For its part, the populace in general, whether Greek Catholic or Orthodox, was content to have its own language taught in schools (after 1933) and its own Greek Catholic administration (after 1934). Therefore, with the exception of the far eastern districts (Sanok and Lisko) where a Ukrainian orientation predominated, the majority of villagers in the Lemko Region

continued to identify as Lemkos or Rusyns and to have reinforced a sense of national affinity with their Rusyn brethren south of the mountains in Czechoslovakia. The Lemko ideology was best represented at the time by Metodij Trochanovs'kyj, the author of Lemko language elementary school texts (a primer and two readers) and editor of the weekly newspaper *Lemko* (1934-39); Dr. Orest Hnatyśak, the head of the Lemko Association (Lemko Sojuz) in Krynica (Nowy Sącz district); and the lyric poet Ivan Rusenko.

World War II

The outbreak of World War II in September 1939 changed the situation radically. Under the combined attack of Hitler's Nazi Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union, Poland was wiped off the map and the San River became an international border between the two countries. As for the Lemko Region, it fell into Nazi hands as part of the so-called Generalgouvernement, a colony of "Greater Germany." The new German regime welcomed Ukrainians from east of the San who were fleeing Soviet rule. A Ukrainian Central Committee was set up in Cracow to coordinate cultural and educational activity.

The German rulers accepted the view that Lemkos were Ukrainians, so that Ukrainian technical schools (in Sanok and Krynica), a teacher's college (Krynica), and cooperatives were set up throughout the Lemko Region. The Lemko Apostolic Administration of the Greek Catholic Church also received a new administrator, the Reverend Oleksander Malynovs'kyj, who in contrast to his predecessors was sympathetic to the Ukrainian orientation. Besides their serious cultural work, Ukrainians from east of the San also were given jobs as policemen and as local officials in the German regime. These elements were less sympathetic to the peculiarities of the Lemko Region, especially the continuing Rusyn or pro-Russian national orientation of the population, the strength of pro-Russian Orthodoxy, and the pro-Soviet sympathies (by 1940 as many as 4,000 Lemkos voluntarily emigrated to the Soviet-controlled territory east of the San River).

The potential for friction increased after Hitler's Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. In the Lemko Region, many Orthodox priests and other suspected pro-Russian individuals were arrested as well as the families of Lemko partisans (organized in a Subcarpathian Formation headed by Ivan and Michal Dons'kyj), who in cooperation with Polish Communists were fighting against the German regime and the local Ukrainian-dominated administration. Some Lemko writers have subsequently blamed their suffering during World War II on the excesses of Ukrainian "nationalists" working under the Germans.

The Final Tragedy

The clash of national orientations at the local level meant nothing, however, in the face of international politics. In the closing months of World War II, the Germans were driven out of the Carpathian region and for that matter out of all of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Red Army. Poland was to be restored, but its borders were changed radically: all its pre-war eastern territories beyond the San River were annexed to the Soviet Union, while in the west and north, lands formerly belonging to Germany (Silesia, Pomerania, Danzig, part of East Prussia) became Polish. More ominous was the fact that Poland and the Soviet Union—like many other

countries at the time—felt that the problem of national minorities was a primary cause of the war, and that to avoid future international conflict these minorities should be moved, or "repatriated," in order to make lands within new boundaries ethnically homogeneous.

Thus, on September 9, 1944, Poland and the Soviet Union signed an agreement on population transfers. According to this agreement, "people of Ukrainian, Belorussian, Russian, and Rusyn nationality" living in postwar-Poland should be "evacuated" to the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Belorussia; in return, Poles and Jews in the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Belorussia should be repatriated to Poland. Although this movement was to be voluntary, many people were strongly pressured and even forced to move eastward by local Polish officials and armed vigilante groups still active in the immediate postwar period.

As a result, between the spring of 1945 and early summer of 1946, an estimated 130,000 inhabitants from the Lemko Region were settled in the Soviet Ukraine. The highest percentage of these were from the eastern Sanok and Lisko districts, where the population had generally come to identify itself as Ukrainian, and from the Jasło and Krosno districts (near the Dukla Pass) which had suffered much destruction in the closing months of the war. This meant that about 35,000 Lemkos—generally those who rejected identification as Ukrainians—remained in their native villages, most especially in the western Lemko Region.

However, even those remaining Lemkos were not left in peace for long, and they got caught up in the ongoing Ukrainian problem. As the Soviet Red Army had advanced westward across the Soviet Ukraine in late 1943 and 1944, Ukrainians who opposed both German and Soviet rule organized a Ukrainian Revolutionary Army (UPA). Against overwhelming odds, the anti-Communist UPA persisted even after the end of World War II, fighting a guerrilla war against Soviet and Communist Polish forces and hiding out in the Carpathian Mountain border region. The UPA also tried—in vain—to stop the exodus of Lemkos and Ukrainians eastward to the Soviet Union. During one of their battles with Polish forces, the UPA killed in March 1947 General Karol Świerczewski. This act prompted the Polish Communist government, in full cooperation with the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, to rid the mountainous region not only of the UPA but of the remaining population as well.

The plan was called the Vistula Operation (*Acja Wisła*), and it called for the forced deportation of all Ukrainians from the eastern regions of Poland to its new or "Recovered Lands" (*Ziemia Odzyskana*) in the western and northern part of the country that were recently acquired from Germany. Thus, from late April to July 1947, Lemkos were simply told to pack up their belongings and to leave the homes that they and their ancestors had inhabited for centuries. They were identified as Ukrainians and accused of helping the UPA "bandits," even though the vast majority of Lemkos who had survived the "voluntary" deportation of 1945-1946 actively rejected a Ukrainian identity and gave no aid (nor in most cases were they even near) to the UPA.

But there was no choice. Sometimes given only a few hours to collect what they could carry, the Lemkos were put on transports and resettled in the "Recovered Lands" of western and northern Poland, that is in lowland areas that were completely foreign to their mountainous ways. As for what they left behind, some Lemko villages just died.

Houses and churches were left to decay, and after a decade they crumbled. Others were resettled by Poles brought in by the government from other parts of Poland or from among Poles who were repatriated from the Soviet Union. There were even some Greeks and Macedonians who came as part of the program of aid given by Poland to pro-Communist refugees fleeing the civil war in Greece.

Whatever their origin, these newcomers had no sense of pride or respect for the Lemko villages they were given. They chose the best houses and land, leaving the rest to decay. Moreover, during the long winters, it was easier to gather firewood by tearing down a nearby house, barn, or church than by felling trees in the forest. Thus, during the early 1950s, the material and cultural vestiges of the Rus' past in the Lemko Region were (with the exception of cemeteries) largely obliterated.

The Lemkos Since Their Dispersal

Without their Carpathian homeland, Lemkos were forced to survive as best they could in the emigration. They are found in large numbers in three countries: the United States, the Soviet Union, and ironically, Poland.

After World War II, there were a few thousand Lemkos who reached the United States and to a lesser degree Canada. The vast majority of these were pro-Ukrainian activists who fled in the face of the advancing Red Army, who remained for a while in camps in Germany, and who then emigrated as "displaced persons" (DPs) to North America. As anti-Communists and nationally-conscious Ukrainians, these Lemkos were unable to interact with the older established Carpatho-Russian and often pro-Soviet organizations like the Lemko Association. Instead, they reactivated the Organization for the Defense of the Lemko Region and founded new organizations like the World Lemko Federation (1973) and Ukrainian-language publications like *Lemkivs'ki visti* (Lemko News, 1958-present), *Lemkivščyna* (The Lemko Land, 1979-present), and the scholarly journal, *Annals/Annaly* (1974-present). Among the more active leaders of the Ukrainian Lemko orientation have been Mychajlo Duda, Stepan Ženec'kyj, Ivan Hvozda, and in Canada Julijan Tarnovyč (pseud. Julijan Beskyd).

Meanwhile, the older Lemko Association which had taken an active role in sending financial aid as part of the American War Relief program to the Soviet Union during World War II, continued to publish its weekly newspaper *Karpatska Rus'* in Lemko dialect and to adopt a pro-Soviet and anti-Ukrainian stance. They also were able to expand their social activity by opening up in 1958 a resort, Lemko Park, in Monroe, New York. Some of these older Lemko immigrants led by Bridgeport, Connecticut industrialist, Peter S. Hardy, also established in 1946 a Lemko Relief Organization to aid the deported Lemkos in Poland. That group even reached an agreement in 1957 with the Polish government to allow the continuance of the American Lemko aid program to their brethren in Poland.

However, the vast majority of the post-World War II Lemko emigration (about 130,000) went eastward to the Soviet Ukraine, where they were settled in historic eastern Galicia, especially in the Ternopil', Sambir, and L'viv regions. But life in the war-devastated and Soviet-regimented Ukraine was not easy for anyone, let alone Lemko newcomers from Poland, who were often looked on with suspicion by the local



Remnants of a Greek Catholic church in the Lemko Region.

Ukrainian inhabitants. A few thousand Lemkos were even permitted to return to Poland in the late 1950s.

As for the majority who remained in the Soviet Ukraine, most have become assimilated to the larger Ukrainian society. However, it is ironic that even after four decades of experience and education in Ukrainian society and schools, some Soviet Lemkos still retain a sense of distance from the culture surrounding them. Their only outlet for such feelings is to emphasize a regional identity, and this is part of the reason for the enormous popularity of the choral ensemble, Lemkovyna, founded in 1969, and the Bajko sisters vocal trio who specialize in Lemko songs. Also, Lemko folk culture and architecture is well represented at the outdoor ethnographic museum in L'viv. The director of the Lemko display there, Ivan Krasovs'kyj, is also the author of a multivolume Lemko encyclopedia (unfortunately published only in serial form in Poland) and the most prolific writer on Lemkos anywhere today.

Finally, there are the Lemkos who were resettled on the "Recovered Lands" of western and northern Poland. By 1947, when the Lemkos arrived there, they were given the less attractive homes and lands abandoned by the Germans (themselves forcibly deported to what remained of Germany). In terms of cultural identity, the Lemkos were officially designated as Ukrainians, and many among the younger generations born far from the Lemko homeland of their ancestors accepted this new identity. On the other hand, being a Ukrainian in Poland was never an enviable thing (considering centuries of Polish-Ukrainian antagonism), so many young Lemkos found it easier and certainly more socially functional to remain at best crypto-Lemkos or simply to assimilate with Polish culture.

Nonetheless, despite their deportation and the official pro-Ukrainian policy regarding their national identity, older

Lemkos raised and educated before World War II continued to retain a distinct Lemko-Rusyn identity, and some of them have passed on such attitudes to their children. Several attempts were even made to set up Lemko cultural organizations in the areas where they were resettled. But the Polish authorities did not permit this, arguing that Lemkos like other Ukrainians should express their needs through the official Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (USKT), established in 1956. For a while there was a Lemko section of that society and a Lemko-language supplement (*Lemkivs'ke slovo*, 1957-64) in the society's Ukrainian weekly newspaper *Naše slovo*, published since 1956 in Warsaw.

Of course, Lemkos really wanted only one thing: to be able to return to their homeland. Several requests submitted to the Polish government for permission to return were rejected. Nonetheless, some Lemkos could not be deterred, and by the late 1950s about 3,000 managed to return to their beloved Carpathian Mountains, a process that has continued slowly, so that today about 10,000 (out of an estimated 60,000 throughout Poland) live again in their native villages.

The return has hardly been easy. The Polish government has to this day never denied the validity of the Vistula Operation that led to the forced deportations in 1947, and since then it has placed numerous legal and administrative hindrances to block Lemkos from returning. Nor could the Poles who took over Lemko villages be enamored with the return of the real owners. The ultimate irony for those Lemkos who did manage to return was that they had to buy back from Poles the very homesteads they or their parents had built.

The Lemko Region Today

Against seemingly all odds, the Lemkos have persevered, and present-day Poland is witnessing a Lemko revival. In the early 1970s, the Lemkovyna Song and Dance Ensemble was established to propagate Lemko folk music in towns and villages where Lemkos live. The Lemko section of the regional outdoor Ethnographic Museum in Nowy Sącz has drawn much attention to traditional Lemko culture, and besides this state-supported institution Lemkos themselves have taken the initiative in preserving their heritage. Two specifically Lemko museums have been set up at private initiative in Bielanka (Gorlice district) by the Lemko poet Pavel Stefanovs'kyj and in Zyndranowa (Krosno district) by Fedir Goč. The best known Lemko activist today, Goč was also instrumental in building the first Eastern Rite church (Orthodox) in the Lemko Region since World War II. Since the completion of the Zyndranowa church in 1985, others have been rebuilt (Rozdziele and Komańcza) or are under construction (Krynica).

Most recently, annual Lemko folk and cultural festivals called Vatra (The Hearth) have been held for two and three days each summer since 1983 in a different Carpathian village to where Lemkos have returned in large numbers (Krynica, Hańczowa, Bartne). The festivals have even prompted the appearance of the first Lemko-language newspaper (if only an annual) to appear since the interwar years—*Holos Vatry* (1984-present). As many as 4,000 people have come from various parts of Poland to attend the Lemko Vatrass. The majority are young Lemkos living in western and northern Poland who are curious to see firsthand “their” Carpathian homeland and to learn about (through cultural “quiz shows”) their ancestral heritage. Also

among the Vatra audiences are Poles, who find these displays of Lemko culture exotic or quaint, and Ukrainians who wish to be assured that the Lemkos remain or become Ukrainian.

What is most remarkable is that all these aspects of the Lemko “revival” have been carried out beyond official channels and often with great difficulty. There are several reasons for this. The Polish government argues that Lemkos are Ukrainians and should therefore not have their own organizations but seek assistance from the government-supported Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (USKT). Lemko activists respond that they are discriminated against by the official Ukrainian organization and are not allowed to preserve their distinct cultural traditions.

For their part, the Ukrainians and pro-Ukrainian Lemkos are concerned with a revival of what they call Lemko-Rusyn “separatism,” which they seem to blame on Polish writers and cultural activists (Jerzy Harasymowicz, Antoni Kroh, Andrzej Kwiecki, Tadeusz Olszański). These Poles, the Ukrainians argue, may pretend to be concerned with Lemkos but, in fact, they really wish to separate them from Ukrainians and eventually to polonize them. (It is true that in recent decades icons removed from Lemko churches and displayed in museums and publications are generally called Polish art, as is the work of the popular Lemko-born painter Nikifor Drovnyak of Krynica). To stop such efforts at “Lemko separatism,” Ukrainian publicists like Professor Volodymyr Mokryj of Jagiellonian University have since the mid-1980s filled the pages of Polish newspapers (especially in Cracow) with articles on the Ukrainianess of all Rusyns and Lemkos.

Finally, the Roman Catholic Church has its own agenda. It accepted the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church between 1946 and 1950 throughout the Carpathian Rus’ homeland, and while it has permitted Greek Catholic priests to serve liturgies in Roman Catholic churches, this “right” is dependent on the cooperation of the local parish priest. In the Lemko Region, Polish Roman Catholic priests have generally refused such permission to Greek Catholics and they



Lighting the fire marks the beginning of each Lemko Vatra festival. This one is at Hańczowa, 1985.

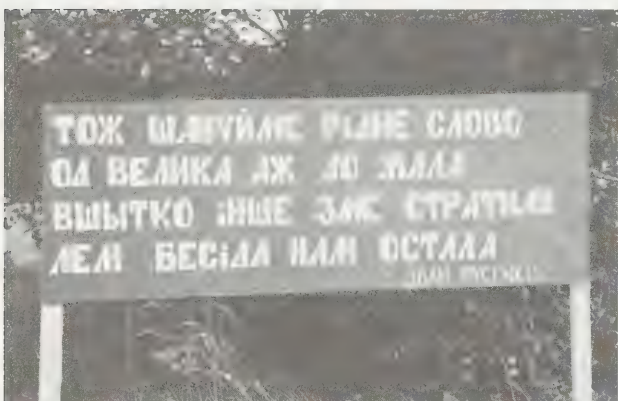
have done their best, as well, to block the establishment of Orthodox parishes in those villages where Lemkos have returned.

So once again, the Lemkos are caught between conflicting political, religious, and national struggles. For their part, the Lemkos who are active in or are effected by the recent cultural revival and interest in them have no desire to change the centuries-long reality of living in Poland. They do, however, wish to be recognized neither as Polish nor Ukrainian, but simply as Lemko Rusyns with the right to return to their native Carpathian homeland (mainly of concern to the older generation), to set up their own distinct Lemko cultural organizations, to build (or reacquire from Roman Catholics) Eastern Rite churches, and eventually to have their own language taught in local schools.

It is among a younger generation of Lemko activists like Petro Murianka-Trochanovs'kyj, Jaroslav Trochanovs'kyj, Volodyslav Hraban, Olena Duc, and Semen Madzelan that such efforts are being undertaken. These and other educated Lemkos—all born after World War II—have begun to publish once again poetry in their native tongue, to collect and perform folk and church music, to complete a major anthology of Lemko literature (including writers as well from the Prešov Region), and even to begin work on a Lemko dictionary in order to standardize the literary language that they use.

All things considered, these are remarkable achievements for a group of Rusyns who forty years ago were thrown out of their homes and dispersed hundreds of miles from their Carpathian homeland. Now, four decades later, the tide has begun to turn and the Lemkos are once again beginning to reclaim that which is rightfully theirs. Will all who wish to do so be able to return to their Carpathian villages? Will Eastern-rite churches (whether Orthodox or Greek Catholic) be built or reopened? Will the people at large continue to identify themselves and their culture as distinctly Lemko Rusyn, will they adopt a Ukrainian identity, or will they simply become assimilated Poles? These remain unanswered questions and problems that only the future will resolve.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, Canada



One of the many literary quotations set up at the 1986 Vatra festival in Bartne. This one by Ivan Rusenko reads: "From the oldest to the youngest/Respect your native language/While we've lost everything/Only our language has remained."

RECENT PUBLICATIONS 1983

With this issue we begin a new year in our on-going survey of recent publications. These are from 1983 and are listed alphabetically. Many are published in Eastern Europe and are difficult to obtain, but most can be found in research libraries of major universities (California at Berkeley, Harvard, Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, Indiana, Toronto, Yale) or in institutions like the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, and Cleveland Public Library. Although these places allow limited access, do note that many local libraries can obtain these works upon request through Interlibrary Loan. Titles which can be purchased will be designated as such.—Editor

Bajcura, Ivan. "Február 1948 a socialistický vývoj národnostných menšín" (February 1948 and the Socialist Development of National Minorities), *Nové obzory*, XXV (Prešov, 1983), pp. 13-55.

Bakov, Jaša. *Vybrani tvory* (Selected Works). Novi Sad: Ruske slovo, 1983, 216 p.

Baran, Alexander. "Carpatho-Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Emigration, 1870-1914," in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983, pp. 252-275.

Baričova, Evgenija. "Ruski jazyk osvičeni z priznačkami zachodoslavjanskich i vostočnoslavjanskich jazikoch" (The Rusyn Language in the Light of Western Slavic and Eastern Slavic Language Characteristics), *Croatica*, XIV, 19 (Zagreb, 1983), pp. 7-19.

Birnbaum, Henrik. "Language Families, Linguistic Types, and the Position of the Rusin Micro-language Within Slavic," *Die Welt der Slaven*, XXVIII, (N.F. VII) (Munich, 1983), pp. 1-23.

Dinur, Dov. *Shoat Yehudi Rusia ha—Karpatit—Užhorod* (The Holocaust of the Jews of Subcarpathian Rus'). Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1983, vi, 138 p.

Duklja, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 1-6 (Prešov, 1983), 80 p. each issue.

Grendža-Dons'kyj, Vasyľ. *Tvory* (Works), Vol. III. Washington, D.C.: Carpathian Alliance, 1983, ix, 687 p.

Hapak, Stepan. *Syla anhažovanoho mystectva* (The Power of Politically Committed Art). Bratislava and Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo, viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1983, 270 p.

OUR FRONT COVER

Consecration of the cross for the Orthodox church in the Lemko Region village of Zyndranowa, July 1982.

The intent of the following questionnaire is to help the staff of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* determine how the newsletter can better serve the Rusyn community and respond to the needs of our readers. Please take the time to complete this questionnaire as soon as possible and return it to the address on the reverse side. Simply separate the questionnaire from the balance of the newsletter, fold it so our address shows clearly, staple or tape it securely, and affix adequate postage. You need not confine your comments to these questions alone and feel free to expand your answers beyond a simple yes no, but we would like answers to all the questions.

Your cooperation is sincerely appreciated.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you think the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* is fulfilling your needs about Rusyn culture and history?
☐ Yes ☐ No
2. Would you like more materials on the following:
 - 2.1) History of Carpatho-Rusyns in 20th century Europe? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.2) Articles about Carpatho-Rusyns in present day Europe? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.3) History of Carpatho-Rusyns in Europe before the 20th century? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.4) Articles or materials on present-day North American Carpatho-Rusyns? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.5) Articles on Carpatho-Rusyns in North America in general? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.6) Articles on Carpatho-Rusyns in North America during the immigration? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.7) Carpatho-Rusyn folklore and fables? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.8) Carpatho-Rusyn customs—wedding, religious, funeral, etc.? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.9) Carpatho-Rusyn village life? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.10) Carpatho-Rusyn poetry? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.11) Carpatho-Rusyn music? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.12) Bibliography and available books and materials on Carpatho-Rusyns in general? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 2.13) Announcements of future Carpatho-Rusyn activity in North America? ☐ Yes ☐ No
3. Would you like more pictures of Carpatho-Rusyn places and individuals? ☐ Yes ☐ No
4. Would you like articles of Carpatho-Rusyn fiction? ☐ Yes ☐ No
5. Do you like the general appearance of the newsletter? ☐ Yes ☐ No Suggestions _____

6. As far as the subscription price is concerned:
 - 6.1) The present price is fine? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 6.2) The present price is too high? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 6.3) The present price can be increased? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 6.4) Would you pay more if the format or content was changed, improved, or expanded? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 6.5) Would you drop your subscription if costs force us to raise the subscription price in order to continue publishing the newsletter? ☐ Yes ☐ No
7. Do you believe that we should explore an idea of creating a group of "Friends" of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, whereby donations of a substantially higher amount — say \$25 per year — would include an annual subscription to the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, a 10% discount on books sold by the C-RRC, and, perhaps, an annual meeting and fellowship, with possible other benefits too? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 - 7.1) Would you consider becoming a "Friend" along the lines described above, if such an organization was developed?
☐ Yes ☐ No
8. Would you support a national Carpatho-Rusyn festival? ☐ Yes ☐ No

9. Which religious orientation, if any, do you feel we may be favoring or emphasizing too much?

☐ Byzantine Rite Catholic ☐ Orthodox ☐ Both are treated fairly equally

10. Do you have any pictures or articles that you would like to submit or other topics or areas that you would like to suggest? ☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Comments

(fold)

Return Address



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tape or staple

RUSYN FORUM

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On Sunday, December 7, 1986, the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation sponsored an "Ethnic Holiday Tour" in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania. The tour concentrated on four Slavic Churches of the industrial "bottoms" area, and included the churches of Carpatho-Rusyns, Poles, and Ukrainians. At Holy Ghost Byzantine Catholic Church, Sister Jean Marie Cihota, OSBM, led a discussion highlighting Rusyn culture in the Byzantine Rite. This was followed by a spirited, well-received performance by Rusyny, the Carpatho-Rusyn Folk Ensemble from McKeesport, Pennsylvania.

Passaic, New Jersey. On February 4, 1987, the Reverend George M. Kuzma was installed as Auxiliary Bishop for the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic, at services in the Cathedral of St. Michael, Passaic, New Jersey. Consecrating bishops were the Most Reverend Stephen J. Kocisko, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Pittsburgh Archeparchy, and Bishops Thomas Dolinay and Michael Dudick. The ceremonies were well attended; bishops, fraternal leaders, and the media were present to record the event. The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* extends best wishes to the new bishop. *Mnohaja lita, Vlyadyko!*

FROM OUR READERS

In this column we will print letters the editorial staff has received from the readers of the newsletter as well as letters that have been sent to the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. We reserve the right to edit letters to fit the constraints of allowable space, but will make every effort to preserve the perceived intent of the author, to give all sides of any issue a fair hearing, and to provide an open editorial page for our readers.

To the Editor:

I have thoroughly enjoyed the wedding tradition series. It may be of interest to you that several of the customs listed were used in my own wedding in 1949. Both of my parents were from the Carpathian Mountains and are Carpatho-Rusyns. I am first generation, thus enjoy the customs and traditions of weddings and holidays. In our house (my husband's people were from Galicia) we still keep many of these traditions—at least for the holidays.

I have a very small dance group, only three couples, but we are powerful! Our program features dancing (as learned from Jerry Jumba), an explanation of our authentic costumes (we do have some originals), and an explanation of either wedding traditions or customs of the Carpatho-Rusyn people. This past April 30, our 1½ hour program featured wedding traditions . . . we had a standing ovation! We also taught a lot of people a little bit about the Carpatho-Rusyns—many had never heard about them!

So you see, your newsletter gives me a lot of valuable information.

Catherine Postemski
Mansfield Depot, Connecticut

UPCOMING EVENTS

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The City of Pittsburgh has announced the Seventh Annual Heritage Day Parade to be held on Saturday, May 16, 1987. The parade has become a "tradition" in Pittsburgh, and marks the start of festivities celebrating the ethnic variety of the nation's "Most Liveable City." The Carpatho-Rusyns have been part of the Pittsburgh Folk Festival for over twenty-five years. We invite our readers who live or plan to be in Pittsburgh in May to experience the activities.

Waterbury, Connecticut. A Bible study group composed primarily of Carpatho-Rusyns has come to our attention. Their origin is documented by Dr. Paul R. Magocsi in the *Rutland Historical Society Quarterly*, Volume XV, Number 2, (1985), in an article titled "A Heritage Recalled—Proroches-koe Svietlo." We hope to provide more details in future newsletters. Those who wish information now, can contact them by writing "Cornerstone," c/o Charles and Yvonne Svitlik, P.O. Box 845, Waterbury, Connecticut 06720.

If you have news for Rusyn Forum, please let us know. Upcoming events should be submitted well in advance, in order to fit our deadlines. Mail to "Rusyn Forum," c/o Andrew Kovaly, 625 Manning Avenue, Port Vue, Pennsylvania 15133.

To the Editor:

We received the book *Our People* as a hospitality gift.

One of the greatest thrills of my life was when I saw the picture, "Wedding of a Priest," on page 25. I started to recognize so many of my mother's and father's dearest friends—like Father and Mrs. Mihalick (my godmother), Father (my godfather) and Mrs. Lodomersky, and then shouted when the couple on the right (priest's arms folded), I recognized as my own father and mother, Reverend Anthony and Yolanda Mhley. Then I recognized my whole family.

It is most interesting to know our history, since there have been priests in our family since the 13th century. We priests' children are a type of "Last of the Mohicans." It is such a loving, beautiful heritage.

Loretta Mhley Chegin
Key Biscayne, Florida

To the Editor:

Many months ago I received my copy of *Our People*, and ever since I've been meaning to write to express my appreciation. I was moved to tears when I saw my mom and pop looking back at me from the picture of the mock wedding at St. John's in Perth Amboy.

My brothers and I have so often questioned who and what we are, and we've been given different answers by different people. Even today, there is such confusion among otherwise well informed people. I often bite my tongue when I hear my college educated fellow parishioners say that we are "slavish."

Elizabeth Cechur Short
Union, New Jersey

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A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

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CARPATHO~RUSYN AMERICAN®

A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



FROM THE EDITOR

Often we get suggestions with ideas on projects we should undertake. The "From Our Readers" column of this issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* has a letter which asks for thoughts from both us and our readership regarding the establishment of a university Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies as a way of assuring that if, despite our best intentions, we are forced someday to abandon what we are doing, there will still be a place for materials on our people and a structure to carry on scholarly work.

Since its inception in 1978, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, and this, its newsletter, has sought to promote knowledge about our people, and though we hope that both will endure for many more decades, we are realists and understand that even institutions are mortal. We are also well aware that there is only so much our center can do to assure a permanent place, in an academic sense, for Carpatho-Rusyns.

We need to go beyond what we have now. We need to make Carpatho-Rusyn studies an academic pursuit that is as valuable, accessible, and academically rewarding as any similar field. There are many steps to be taken. A Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies is not only one of the most important steps, it is one of the biggest. The idea of a university chair is indeed excellent, and it is an idea that the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* endorses wholeheartedly.

Carpatho-Rusyns could have a long academic wish list. It would be more than nice if our people could study their language, history, and culture at the university level in many locations in this country, but that is impossible. What is possible and what is necessary in order to achieve the academic stature we deserve, is a larger and broader presence in the world of American education. That means we must create incentives for schools to provide courses in Carpatho-Rusyn studies, and we must develop a program that encourages scholarship in the area of Carpatho-Rusyn studies.

Such a program should include many things: scholarships for those who wish to do graduate work in Carpatho-Rusyn subjects; grants for schools to offer courses at all levels that will benefit our people; grants for scholars to undertake projects that may benefit our community, including research in the United States or Europe; and perhaps grants to develop exchange programs for students from our community to study in Europe and to bring European Carpatho-Rusyn specialists to do research here in America. There are many possibilities on which to expend our resources, and the concept of endowing a Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies can encompass them all, as well as assure the study of our people and our culture the status it deserves in the academic world. A well-funded Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies at a major, prestigious university would allow not only courses, scholarships, grants, and research work, it would at the same time ensure permanency through a perpetual fund dedicated to Carpatho-Rusyns alone.

Just as the very idea of a Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Stud-

ies is a grand one, the effort required to achieve it will be grand too. The entire Carpatho-Rusyn community will have not only to cooperate, but to give the goal its active support. There are many dimensions to such a project, from leadership to trust funds, to grass-roots organization, to time frames, etc. There will have to be agreement on many things, from nomenclature to fund raising technique to the institution at which the chair would be endowed. It will be expensive, for to be worthwhile it will have to be at a leading university and will require an endowment of between \$1.5 and \$2 million. It will be well worth it, however, because it will give us the enduring status and prestige we need to attract our own people and others to our rich heritage.

The \$1.5 million to \$2 million sum seems very large, but it is well within the means of our community, especially if we can overcome our differences and work together with the support of our churches and fraternalists. It can be \$1 or \$2 from each person of Carpatho-Rusyn descent in America or perhaps even less. It can be \$1000 from 1500 to 2000 Carpatho-Rusyn Americans with a sincere interest in their heritage and a willingness to give generously over a period of perhaps several years. It can be the philanthropy of a few very wealthy Carpatho-Rusyn Americans wanting to give something to their people. In reality, it is all of these — the overwhelming generosity of a few combined with smaller sums, at just a great a sacrifice, of many others. It is giving from among us all, rich and poor alike, churches and fraternalists included, that will make a Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies a fact rather than a dream.

There would be many benefits to such an undertaking beyond its own realization. We would not only be endowing a Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies, we would be leaving a legacy of achievement through cooperation not only to our own future generations, but to the rest of the world, a legacy that would demonstrate how our people can work together to achieve worthwhile goals, not just to their own benefit, but to the benefit of society as a whole. It would mark our coming of age in America more than anything we have done to date.

Though this idea obviously has our support, it is your support that will matter. Let us know what you think. We are very happy to start the ball rolling, so to speak, but first a candid examination of all aspects of the project from as many points of view as possible is needed along with some idea of the amount of support its organizers can expect from the community. We believe that the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* ties together those of our community who care the most, not only about the past of our people but about their present and future. Thus, we must turn to you not only for support, but for leadership in weighing this proposal and ultimately seeing it through. Its success will not come easy, and more than anything it will take workers, so let us know not only your attitude toward the project and any ideas you may have to offer, but your willingness to work towards its success.

A university Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies is a great idea with tremendous benefit to our people, but unless we carry it out, it will not be done. It can be the contribution of our generation to our people. It is our job to do and the time is now.

NYKYFOR DROVNJAK (1895-1968)

The life of Nykyfor Drovnyak is truly the stuff of fairy tales. From a foolish and outcast beggar there developed a world renowned artist whose name remains a source of pride among the people from whom he derived. Yet it is precisely here that the great absurdity begins.

Nykyfor, who did not even know how to speak Polish, who from beginning to end developed artistically under the influence of the wonder of eastern Christian icons, who was three times deported to western Poland, who returned three times to his native Lemko Region, who was isolated from foreign influences — it is this same Nykyfor whose works have had subjective and objective 'Polishness' thrust upon them. Falsified facts from his life, tendentious interpretations regarding his creative motivations, and a lack of feeling and understanding for the complicated psychology of this unfortunate artist all serve the cause of "proving" his ostensible Polishness. Despite the Polishness accredited to Nykyfor, one can detect the full gamut of Lemko life and symbolism both in his career and in his outstanding creative works.

Nykyfor Drovnyak was born on May 21, 1895 in the small town of Krynica (Nowy Sącz district) in what is today south-central Poland. His mother was Jevdokija Drovnyak, the daughter of Hryhorij and Tatjana Krenyc'kyj from the nearby village of Powroznik/Povoroznyk; his father was unknown. Baptised in the local Greek Catholic Church, he was given the name Jepyfan. This name was uncommon in the Lemko Region, although a priest would often give a child of an unwedded mother a strange name which would by itself distinguish the child from others. The name Nykyfor, by which the artist from Krynica is so well known, is actually a nickname that is much more understandable and normal for Lemkos.

Nykyfor came into the world in particularly unfortunate circumstances. The question of his actual father was and remains uncertain. His mother, who until the end of her days was a servant, lived in poverty. The youngster never finished school and he did not even know how to write. At best he could scribe large printed letters, as is evident on his paintings. But in place of these shortcomings, nature endowed Nykyfor with a great talent. And despite a career clouded with legends created by people who never will be able to understand all the contradictions and conflicts of his life, there existed beyond the normal concept of happiness a solidly-founded existence directed by its own logic and creative power. In a word, he lived in his own manner.

Nykyfor remained in his native Krynica among fellow Lemkos. His favorite spot was the wall near the health clinic, where he loved to sit the whole day and paint, and where he sold or gave away his paintings. Although from time to time he wandered throughout the Lemko Region, he soon returned to the spot along the wall where he felt best. Strongly tied to the atmosphere of the town of Krynica and the Lemko Region as a whole, Nykyfor considered his paintings to be something natural and obvious. He created for himself, because creativity was a part of his being — it was his very life.

In fact, in the paintings of Nykyfor we can touch the depths of an open, simple, and free spirit, who created with brush and color a world of his own. His paintings are described as naive and primitive in the positive sense of those words. The world which Nykyfor created in works which number about



30,000 has nothing to do with a realistic depiction of nature. Here it is the icon which is the source of the profound variety and particular characteristics of his paintings.

There is a great similarity in the creative principles of Nykyfor's works and the canon of Byzantine iconography. As in the icons, so too in Nykyfor's work is there magic. The icon is not only an image, it is a picture which directs one through pictorial form to the presence of God and itself embodies in part that presence. Similar are the paintings of Nykyfor. They not only reflect the world, they are in part the world they reflect. Even if that world should vanish, it will survive precisely there where Nykyfor created it — in his art.

Nykyfor depicted the Lemko Region — its wondrous, clear, and refreshing sun, its numerous churches, its brightly colored houses, its fairy tales and symbols. These were to remain forever. He also depicted himself as he wished he could be and how he would like to feel — young, distinguished, respected. He painted himself like the saints on icons, seen always with gigantic eyes, seriousness, and grandeur. He also rendered other people in the same way, if he felt they merited such treatment. All his paintings are in fact triumphal and solemn in which a strong internal force is ever present.

It is the power and greatness of Nykyfor's talent which today attracts the world's art critics. Yet while he was outstanding, he still remains a misunderstood phenomenon. This is because it is not possible to understand an individual without knowing the life of the people from whom he or she derived. Nykyfor lived and created as a Lemko, and first and foremost it is necessary to understand his work as a homage to the Lemko Region — a homage in which everything there would remain just as he saw and felt it.

Olena Duc
Uście Gorlickie, Poland

A VILLAGE MUSEUM AND THE PROBLEMS OF LEMKO CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND

The following article, written by Antoni Kroh, the curator of the state-supported Regional Ethnographic Museum in Nowy Sącz, Poland, was first published in the Polish journal, Polska Sztuka Ludowa (Warsaw, 1985). Kroh is one of a small group of contemporary Poles who sympathize with the current plight of Lemkos living in their midst.—Editor

The museum in Zyndranowa is unique, but not because of its wealth. In reality, it is a modest establishment. What distinguishes Zyndranowa from many other museums in Poland, including famous ones that have funds of several millions at their disposal and that are visited by hundreds of thousands of tourists every year, is the role it performs and the range of social needs it tries to satisfy. For this is a museum greatly needed by both Lemkos and Poles. The swarms of tourists brought by buses to other museums does not visit here, but people seeking the truth about the past and present Lemko Region do come. They come because they need this truth, and they hardly have any other means of finding it.

The museum is modest, because it is completely supported by private funds without any external, financial, or organizational aid. When we realize this fact, and at the same time observe the impact of the museum's work, we will understand how very deserving of respect are the people who brought this establishment to life and who bear the burden of maintaining it.

It seems that the example of the museum in Zyndranowa may be of interest not only to lovers of the Lemko Region, but in general for sociologists of culture, ethnographers, historians, and in particular for proponents of the regional movement and folk culture all over Poland. The latter especially can learn much here.

The village of Zyndranowa lies in the east-central Lemko Region, south of the town of Krosno on the very border with Czechoslovakia and just a few kilometers from the Dukla Pass. An important passage through the Carpathians, the Dukla Pass was once one of the busiest trade routes of the old Polish Republic. Famous markets were held in the nearby town of Dukla, which were also visited by Rusyns traveling from northern Hungary, in other words from what is today the Prešov Region of eastern Slovakia. Thus, the area around the Dukla Pass is a region where contacts between Rusyns from the northern and the southern slopes of the Carpathians were for centuries very close and multi-faceted, exerting a strong influence on folk culture and especially on ethnic self-consciousness. The feeling that the lands on both sides of the mountains constitute a single unit and that its inhabitants are kinsmen was and is continually alive. This was also favoured by circumstances in which the Rusyn population was surrounded by peoples of different languages, religions, cultures — Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Jews.

During World Wars I and II, the front rolled through this area many times, since the Dukla Pass constituted a key strategic point. Terrifying struggles took place for control of the pass in which hundreds of thousands of soldiers from different armies, as well as many local people, lost their lives. The infamous "Valley of Death" between the Iwla and the Hyrowa Rivers, one of the largest battlefields in this part

of Europe, is located near Zyndranowa. After 1945, the area became almost completely depopulated. First, this was the result of military activities, then of repatriation of part of the population to the Soviet Ukraine, and finally as a consequence of the tragic "Vistula Action" during which the Polish government forcibly removed the remaining Lemko population.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, when Lemkos began to return to these parts, a legend of quite recent origin (yet already deeply rooted in Polish society) arose. This legend spoke of the area as a land belonging to no one, a kind of "Wild West" suitable for romantic experiences and manly adventures in the style of Jack London. The whole area was considered a wasteland with a severe climate, predatory game, and overgrown sites of former forest fires, cemeteries, and mysterious graves. Unfortunately, Polish literary works, films, and newspaper articles, which were too often characterized by a kind of moral color-blindness, contributed to the rise of this superficial, and therefore false, legend. There was even a song in vogue about the Bieszczady Mountains where one could "be a cowboy."

Hence, adventurers, romantics, trappers, restless souls, and common criminals from all over Poland came here, whether for profit, for biding their time, or for colorful self-creation. Polish peasants from the lowlands, generally driven by life's pressures, also settled down here, since for various reasons there was no place for them in their own native regions. But nothing at all grew for them in this foreign mountain climate, so after a few years of drudgery they most often fled. Although there are many commendable exceptions to this sad rule (for instance, the village of Kamianna splendidly managed by its new Polish inhabitants), the general picture is not edifying. In the end, many Poles have passed through the Lemko Region, but not many have remained.

From the beginning, it is only the Lemkos who have considered these parts their home. They have done so without reservations, despite everything and everyone. It may be a home which they did not choose, but one which they carry in their hearts their whole life long. That is how it is. For Lemkos this is Lemko country, for Poles — post-Lemko country. That's the difference.

In this and other respects, the Poles settling down in the Lower Beskyd and Bieszczady ranges were, culturally speaking, a none too active element. Even the mountaineer Poles from Podhala, who came and settled in quite close-knit centers in Banica near Izby, Czarna, Mochnaczka and other villages, and who experienced the least amount of trouble in adapting to their new conditions, even they — relatively speaking — lost in large measure their distinguishing Podhalian characteristics.

On the other hand, the returning Lemkos began their cultural activity almost immediately upon unpacking their bundles. One could see that they considered it an essential element of their existence as a society. Already in the fall of 1954 a folklore ensemble of thirty people, founded and directed by Fedir Goč, came into being at the Solidarity Production Cooperative in Zyndranowa. A spectacle, the "Lemko Wedding" was produced, and in 1955, Polish television recorded a program, "With the Lemkos in Zyndranowa," featuring this ensemble. At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, other song and dance groups came into existence in Bielanka, Komańcza, Grab,

Olchowiec, Tylawa, and Polany near Dukla. Orthodox church choirs were also active in a few villages. The villages of Bartne, Hańczowa, Konieczna, and Żdynia stood out because of their cultural activity.

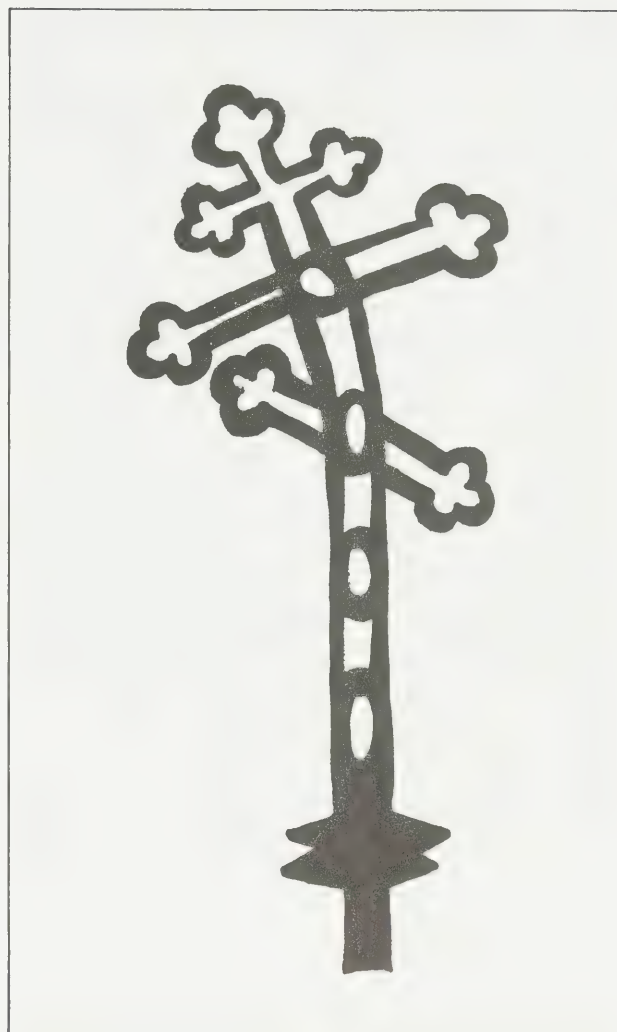
Looking at the history of eastern and southern Europe in the nineteenth century, one can see that the energetic cultural activity of a small group of people has more than once provided the beginnings of national consciousness for many modern nations. Precisely in this way the Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Romanians, and some South Slavic nations began to be transformed. Indeed, the first stages were often modest and the sphere of influence small. For instance, the first Czech awakeners used to gather in one small room, and a saying circulated along the Vltava River in Bohemia that if the roof had collapsed on this room, the further development of modern Czech literature would have been questionable. The Štúrites, a group centered around the first Slovak ideologue L'udovít Štúr, comprised only a handful of romantic youths, while the advocates of the Rusyn Triad, who laid the foundations of modern Ukrainian culture in Galicia, could also have been counted on the fingers of both hands. Similarly, the Slovenians, called Illyrians at that time, began their modest activity by publishing almanacs and bee-keeping handbooks.

Of course, in mentioning this I do not intend to suggest that the Lemkos' cultural activity can in similar fashion constitute a national consciousness. After all, the processes which I have just recalled took place over a century and a half ago in very different social, political, and governmental conditions. I am only concerned here with drawing attention to the remarkably integrative and representative function of collective cultural activity among regional and ethnic minority groups which desire to protect their identity. For it is well known that cultural activity serves a predominate and integrative function in communities which do not exhibit national aspirations (Podhalians, Tyrolians), but who only wish to preserve their distinct character. It is also well known that local patriotism does not lessen national or state patriotism; quite the contrary, one enriches the other and gives it life.

The East German government, for example, understands this by supporting the Lusatian Sorbian cultural movement. Even closer to them, the Lemkos are impressed especially by the example of the Ukrainian Museum at Svidnik in northern Slovakia, which has about 30 employees, a *skansen*, an icon collection, rich ethnographic collections, and which publishes scholarly and popular works.

In contrast, the Lemkos living in Poland have at present only two extra-religious cultural institutions serving them in a representative and integrative capacity. These are the Lemkovyna Song and Dance Ensemble based in Bielanka (Nowy Sącz district) under their artistic director Jaroslav Trochanovs'kyj, and the Regional Museum of Lemko Culture and War Memorial in Zyndranowa (Krosno district) founded by a group of activists, among whom Pavel Stefanovs'kyj, Michal Dons'kyj, and Fedir Kuzjak were prominent, and whose director is Fedir Goč. In this context, it is interesting to note that Stefanovs'kyj ran a Lemko Regional House in Bielanka for many years, although it has had to struggle to survive. This house is presently inaccessible to tourists and it was decided to move its collections to Zyndranowa as soon as conditions for exhibiting them are provided.

The Lemkovyna Ensemble and Zyndranowa Museum have a common feature which constitutes the source of their



Cross from a burned-down Lemko church, preserved at the Lemko Museum in Zyndranowej, Poland.

strength, and at the same time is the cause of unending troubles, vexations, and a feeling of uncertainty. Namely, they are not supported by state funds (as most other cultural institutions in Poland), but are maintained by a handful of people whose dedication and hard work sometimes creates the impression of hopelessness and other times of heroism. The single driving force behind these people's activities is faithfulness to the Lemko tradition. They are simply fighting desperately for their lives, for their community existence, for their right to group pride. Others may not understand this, but Poles should.

These Lemko institutions, however, are not connected with the so-called vertical structure of culture. The vertical structure is a closed system devised and administered from above, just like health service, for instance. Here everything has its place — hierarchy, budget, work plans, and posts of employment. Everything is foreseen, grasped, and then realized and summed up in reports. This system can successfully tolerate superficial activity and can support it even for an extended period of time, just so long as that activity is properly categorized. But it cannot incorporate into its structure a phenomenon which is not sufficiently named and classified. And, looking at the museum in Zyndranowa and the Lemko cultural movement in general, neither can be classified in official terms.

This is because the Lemkos are not officially recognized as a separate national minority, but are included with the Ukrainian nation. For various reasons, which I will not write about here, this situation does not suit many Lemkos, since they feel strongly about their separateness both from the Ukrainians as well as the Poles. Although the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society (USKT) active in Poland takes into account the cultural needs of the Lemkos (in accordance with its statute), a situation has arisen in which the Lemkos do not enjoy all the conditions necessary for their development within the framework of that society. Simply put, Lemkos do not feel completely at home there. I do not intend to write at length on Lemko-Ukrainian relations in Poland, especially since they have taken on different shades during the last forty years; nevertheless, it is a fact that many Lemko activists have remained outside the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society. Therefore, the museum in Zyndranowa, operating independently of the Society, is — officially speaking — not a museum of a national minority.

At the same time, it is also not a museum of an ethnographic region, such as Podhale or Orava, since one of the most difficult of Lemko problems is the question of self-definition. Despite their distinct character, Podhalians are Poles, and no one questions this. Some Oravians are Poles at heart, others Slovaks, yet there is no Oravian national problem. On the other hand and for obvious reasons, Lemkos do not consider themselves a part of the Polish nation, whereas belonging to the Ukrainian nation is for them a complicated and often painful issue. Hence it is difficult to treat the Lemko Region exclusively as just another region of Poland. In this sense, the museum in Zyndranowa is not a regional museum, it is something more.

How, then, can this establishment be classified?

When encountering a phenomenon which we do not fully understand and which destroys our established mental patterns, we can approach it in one of the following ways: (1) ignore it and simply not take note of its existence; (2) squeeze it into a compulsory framework, that is, "draw it into" known established patterns; or (3) attempt to destroy and annihilate it. Fedir Goč, one of the founders and the director of the museum from its beginnings, learned perfectly all three of these ways at his own cost during the sixteen years of the museum's existence. Let us hope that one day he will write down and publish his experiences. It will certainly be an extremely interesting document from which we will learn many surprising things.

But how can one help the museum in Zyndranowa? How can one solve the question of this institution's further development? I assume it is not necessary to prove that help is indeed necessary. The Lemkos are fellow citizens of Poland and they contribute to the creation of the country's wealth; hence, they obviously have the right to benefit from this wealth and to watch over their own culture as do all of us. However, the help which is essential will only make sense if it does not disturb the very nature of the museum, that is, its social character.

It seems that the best solution would be the creation of a Society of Friends of the Lemko Museum of Zyndranowa, an organization that would enjoy legal status. Such an organization, which would become the formal owner of the museum (up to now the question of ownership has not been completely resolved), would hire the necessary employees: guides for the tourist season, specialists for conservation

work, etc. The activity of such a society should be subsidized by the state, as is usually the case with other cultural establishments. The proposed society of friends should also institute a scientific council and a publishing division. Operating this way would not disturb the social character of the museum and would place it on a professional level by running it in accordance with the principles of modern museology.

Many precedents for such a solution have existed in the past as well as the present. For example, the Jan Kasprowicz Museum at Harenda in Zakopane belongs to the Jan Kasprowicz Society. The Fryderyk Chopin Society in Warsaw also owns a museum (aside from other activities), naturally benefiting from state financial aid. As is well-known, the museums founded by the Polish Sightseeing Society, the Polish Tatra Society, and next their successor, the Polish Tourist-Sightseeing Association, have played a considerable role in the history of Polish collectorship. One can multiply the number of such examples. In fact, the Zyndranowa Museum has since 1968 had an advisory board formed with the consent of the local authorities but not recognized as an official body.

It seems obvious that in order for the museum in Zyndranowa to develop, it must obtain a statute and legal status in order to benefit from, among other things, systematic state subsidies. Yet at the same time it must continue to be itself, that is, to preserve its social character and autonomy as a center of information about the past and present Lemko Region, thereby satisfying the cultural needs of the Lemko community in Poland.

If such decisions were made, one could expect that right away the museum collections would increase significantly. News of the birth of a representative Lemko institution would certainly induce the many Lemkos scattered throughout Poland and beyond its boundaries to be generous. We would then be able to see mementos now kept in private homes and shown only to family and close friends — mementos often possessing great historical and emotional value. Our country, ravaged by so many wars and not rich in relics, would have one more active cultural institution to fill that painful gap in Poland's consciousness, at the same time that it would be a source of proper and long overdue satisfaction to the Lemkos.

At present the museum operates under very modest conditions. It is located on an old, though well-preserved small farm, very few of which remain in the area. (The small farm is entered in the registry of historical monuments by the Custodian of Historical Monuments for the district of Rzeszów, now in Krosno.) The main building, which houses under one roof the living quarters, cow barn, and stable, dates from 1860. An ethnographic exhibition consisting of more than 1,500 items is set up there.

These include a recreated traditional Lemko living room with relics mainly from the turn of the twentieth century. Originally it was a chimneyless cabin; in 1901, a stove with a hood was built in it. Furniture, pictures, utensils, small kitchenware and other elements of old interior furnishings are displayed with respect for their original function, and they create a natural impression that speaks volumes about the life of Lemko farmers several decades ago. One of the chromolithographs, the Heart of the Blessed Mother, has some bullet holes in a few places, providing thereby a discreet and at the same time very expressive symbol of the fate of the Lemkos.

Beyond the living room is a second, smaller room, the so-called "second chýža." It once served as the chief villager's office. During the Dukla campaign in World War II, a Soviet general in command of this section of the front was stationed in it. At present one finds there a modest exhibit of costumes, publications on the Lemko Region (including some very rare and valuable printed materials), and a few photographs among which is a youthful portrait of the painter Nykyfor. (See his biography in this issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*). There are also coins, documents, and amateur pictures portraying churches, some no longer in existence, painted by Fedir Kuzjak of Bartne.

The continuation of the ethnographic exhibition is found in neighbouring rooms once used for farming (a stable, threshing-floor, and coach-house). Implements for soil cultivation and cattle raising, and processing of farm and livestock products characteristic of old mountain farms are there. A small exhibit of liturgical utensils and religious objects, at times rescued in dramatic circumstances, also exists. The visitor is particularly impressed by the gripping beauty of an Eastern Christian cross beautifully wrought in iron. The work of peasant artistry, it is bent as if in pain, having fallen from the roof of a burning church in the village of Czeremcha/Čeremcha (Krosno district).

In 1969, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the battle for the Dukla Pass, the museum director Goč installed an exhibit of war souvenirs in the barn on the other side of the yard. This is the second section of the museum in Zyndranowa, where there are Polish, Soviet, and Czechoslovak uniforms (in each of which armies Lemkos fought), rusted arms found to this day in the fields nearby, a few publications, and some pictures. It should be mentioned that the village of Zyndranowa was decorated by President Ludvík Svoboda (Czechoslovak general during World War II) with the Order of the Czechoslovak Red Star for aiding Czechoslovak soldiers during the Dukla campaign.

Objects that once belonged to I. R. Plechov, a soldier in the Soviet Army who dying from his wounds on Suchanja Mountain near Polany left a letter to his family in a bottle, create a particularly strong impression on visitors. The letter was found 25 years later in some brush and brought to the museum. Director Goč sent it to Plechov's widow in the Soviet Union who in this way discovered only in 1969 where and how her husband had died.

A large plot of land next to the small farm also belongs to the museum. A willow with three trunks grows there. Goč perceived the symbolism, called this place the "corner of brotherhood" (the inscription being in Polish and Lemko), placed a bench under the tree, and on the three branches which join together right near the ground, he mounted tablets which read: Lech, Rus', Czech. About a dozen steps from the "corner of brotherhood," a monument several meters in height to the Soviet soldiers fallen in the battles for the Dukla Pass was built by a group of combatants from Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia with the cooperation of the local museum committee and circle of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship. War veterans from nearby Slovakia presented carefully chiselled granite tablets in Russian, Polish, and Slovak. This monument no longer exists, and all that remains are the partially damaged tablets and a folder of correspondence. At present, another, much more modest monument is found in this place.



Director Fedir Goč at the entrance to the Lemko Museum in Zyndranowa. (Photo by Mykola Mušynka, 1987)

A small obelisk raised in honor of the victims of the Talerhof camp (a place of internment for the Lemkos during World War I) stands between the small farm housing the museum and the monument to the Soviet soldiers. It was first raised in 1936 at Banica near Bartne, a village which ceased to exist after 1947. When a road was built there a few years ago the monument was in danger, so Goč transferred it to Zyndranowa.

A few dozen meters from the museum buildings stands the magnificent new home of the Goč family, pleasing to the eye with its fresh red brick. The home itself is a symbol of the Lemko's moral strength, their attachment to their native land, their resilience, and their victorious battle with the adversities of fate.

To found a museum, to gather mementos, and to take care of them is a lot of work. However, an even greater task is the arduous welcoming for the last seventeen years of more and more guests — and always with a smile, graciously, unselfishly. The guests vary, from those who only in Zyndranowa discover to their amazement that national minorities actually exist in contemporary Poland, to those who have come from the other side of the globe with tears in their eyes. People who are not free of anti-Lemko attitudes come as well. It is necessary to know how to respond to all of them quietly and with dignity. Many visitors (especially Lemkos from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Canada) wish to sit around and talk. Director Goč must find the time and patience for this, precisely at the period — the tourist season — when there is most urgent harvest work in the fields.

Maintenance of the museum costs not only much time and nerves but money as well. Apparently, in 1985, the museum in Zyndranowa is to receive a subsidy from the Ministry of Culture (for the moment, however, this is only a noncommittal rumor). If this becomes reality, it would be the first concrete aid on the part of the government in seventeen years. In the meantime, the museum survives under the self-sacrificing leadership of its director Fedir Goč, who in his "spare time" also sews the folk costumes for the Lemkovyna Ensemble. For all his efforts, Goč is universally recognized by Lemkos throughout Poland, and he has received many official awards and congratulatory letters (ironically more from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union than Poland) for his activity.

Antoni Kroh
Nowy Sącz, Poland

DID YOU RETURN THE SURVEY?

Our last issue contained a survey which, if you have not already completed, we urge you to do so and return at your earliest opportunity. Very preliminary results suggest a unanimous desire for more of just about everything and as well give many helpful suggestions. However, before we make any conclusions, we need to hear from more of you, so please respond as requested. A comprehensive analysis of the responses will be included in the next issue. If first indications hold up, there is a great demand for a national festival and a national association to support the work of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. Like the concept of a Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies, these two ideas will take considerable thought, organization, and energy. They also deserve a thorough airing in the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, so please let us know what you think about them and share any ideas you may have for instituting them.

TRADITIONAL LEMKO DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Lemko villages are mostly situated on low terraces along streams and rivers beyond flood level. The oblong form of the houses and the method of their construction is also linked with the system of land usage. In most villages the land is divided into wide strips that run crosswise through the valley.

In most cases, the houses in the Lemko Region had windows facing the road; that is, their front facade. However, in the far western parts of the region there are villages where the houses stand sidewise to the road. The reason for this

was that in these localities there were wider river valleys, making it easier to drive into most of the farmsteads.

The classic type of Lemko dwelling was the rectangular or row house. These are rural village structures in which the farm buildings are built one touching the other, all under the same roof as the house. Such Lemko houses are composed of the dwelling unit — the room inhabited by the family (*chýža*), the entrance passage (*sini*), and the storehouse or pantry (*komora*); followed by the stables or cattle barn (*stajnja*); the threshing barn and grain-storage room (*pelevnja*); and lastly the machinery and wagon barn (*šopa*).



A typical Lemko rectangular row house, village unknown. (Photo courtesy of the Ukraina Society, Kiev)

The Soviet Ukrainian writer, Vasyly' Zemljak, described a Lemko village with its houses in his novel, *Green Mills*: "The buildings here were brought together in a long line and served all the needs of the farm — the family dwelling, cowbarn, and grain-storage under one roof with the hayloft above. Wooden double-doors or a gate led to the hay loft, but narrow doors to the entrance passage of the house." This description actually refers to a village of Lemko settlers who as early as the nineteenth century emigrated from the Prešov Region to Podolia in the western Ukraine, where their descendants remain to this day.

The folk architecture in the Lemko Region has inherited much that is archaic, that is, old building traditions which have been retained but adapted to local conditions, be they geographic, ethnic, or socioeconomic. The houses were most often made of split, half-round fir logs. In far northwestern Transcarpathia (Subcarpathian Rus'), these were very often oak logs. The round side of the split logs formed the exterior, the flat side the interior walls. At the corners the timbers were fitted by overlapping through use of a simple interlock device or a fish-tail joint. Dry forest-moss was packed between the joints of the rounded logs. The roofs were thatched with straw, and the houses usually had two sloping surfaces.

On the exterior, the timbers were rubbed with crude oil, which not only preserved the walls from rot and worms, but even served as a sort of ornamentation. In villages lacking such oil, burnt clay mixed with water and/or linseed oil was used instead. The rounded logs were filled in or packed along the whole length with moss and clay. This "mortar" was then whitewashed, so that the resulting horizontal stripes stood out vividly against the dark oily background of the logs, thereby underlining the structure of the house.

The living space was quite spacious, in contrast to the entrance doors which were usually very low and narrow. Windows in most cases had nine small panes; sometimes two windows were built side by side. Inside the house, the walls were coated with clay and whitewashed with lime or chalk. The ceiling, however, was rubbed with crude oil or with a thick paste of brickdust and linseed oil.

Much attention was given to decorating the exterior walls. For color, white or bright yellow clay was used. Decorations included various ornamental motifs, such as solar signs, sickles, pothooks, angles, the tree of life, braids, and flowers (the basic motif being a pine branch or stem and a flower). Flowers were most often depicted on flat doors. There was also the tradition that a 'flower' must have as many stems or twigs as there were members of the family living in the house. When a child was born, another pair of branches was painted underneath. On the big gate-doors, usually birds were painted.

Inside the house, paintings were few. The walls were white-washed with lime and blueing. Sometimes near the window, colorful streaks and dots were painted, as well as around the contour of certain parts of the big stove. These designs were made by those who believed in the magical power of such signs, which allegedly protected everybody who lived in the house from evil.

The designs were executed with a cloth wrapped round a stick, or with a cat hair's brush. Painting was usually done before important holidays: in spring before Easter; in winter before Christmas; or at other times before 'holy days' or monthly festivals. The ornaments were not copies, but al-



The tree of life, a typical design in Lemko home exteriors.

ways drawn anew from memory. They were executed mostly by girls and elderly women.

This painting tradition in the Lemko Region began to disappear in the decades after World War II, but thanks to the labor of love carried out by Iryna Dobrjans'ka, one of the organizers of the Lemko Museum in Sanok, Poland and now a researcher at the State Museum of Ethnic Studies and Applied Art of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, the tradition has been carefully investigated. Dobrjans'ka has prepared an album of Lemko wall-painting designs, which is preserved today in the Museum of Ukrainian Folk Architecture and Traditional Life in Kiev.

With regard to the layout of the interior, the "mouth" of the stove was turned toward a side wall. The bed was then set between the stove and the side wall. It had a big feather or down mattress and above it hung a pegged board for hanging Sunday clothes. In certain localities, on the side wall at the head of the bed there was a shelf for dishes. Along the side and front walls, there were benches. Between them would be placed a high table or a chest which was always covered with a white towel which served for covering bread.

Various additions could be built onto the row house — a closed porch for hay and straw and for various garden or farm tools, a pigpen, a fold for sheep, and a stall for the horse.

These, then, were the general characteristics of traditional Lemko rural domestic architecture. And despite the impact of modern building techniques and styles, it is interesting to note that the old Lemko building customs are preserved to this day in the far northwestern corner of Soviet Transcarpathia (the Perečyn and Velykyj Berezhnyj districts), in the Prešov Region of northeastern Czechoslovakia, and, of course, in the Lemko Region of southeastern Poland.

Archyp Danyljuk
L'viv, USSR

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OUR FRONT COVER

Nykyfor being greeted in a Lemko home.

RUSYN FORUM

Minneapolis, Minnesota. On May 4, 1987, the Rusin Association held its second annual Duchnovich Dinner. The dinner was attended by over 50 members and guests with main entertainment by Bill Lechko and Anna Novak. The special speaker for the evening was the Reverend Vladimir Lecko of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral who, in view of 1987 being St. Mary's 100th anniversary year, spoke about the history of St. Mary's and its historical importance to the entire Carpatho-Rusyn community in America.

As a special treat, St. Mary's Youth Balalaika Orchestra gave a superb performance of Carpatho-Rusyn and Russian folk music.

A special guest at the dinner was Sven R. Gustavsson, head of the department of Slavic Languages at Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, who has a strong interest in Carpatho-Rusyn language and culture.

Binghamton, New York. On May 16, 1987, the Carpathians, a youth dance group sponsored by St. Michael's Church of Binghamton, New York, represented the Carpatho-Rusyn community at the Two Rivers Ethnic Festival. The Carpathians marched in the parade which inaugurated the festival and then performed, in traditional costumes, a repertoire of Carpatho-Rusyn songs and dances.

The Carpathians dance group was organized in 1980 by Cheryl Dutko, who continues as its director today. The group

consists of up to 35 performers aged 3 to 16 and is divided into two age groups, a junior group for those age 3 to 7 and an intermediate group for those 8 to 16.

This summer the group will perform for the Johnson City field days and will be a demonstration group for a performance and teaching seminar sponsored by the Discovery Center in Binghamton. In September, it will be a featured performer at the Slavic Cultural Weekend, also in Binghamton.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During the weekend of May 22, 1987, in Pittsburgh's David L. Lawrence Convention Center, the Carpatho-Rusyn people were highlighted as a featured cultural group of the 31st annual Pittsburgh Folk Festival which is sponsored by Robert Morris College.

The Carpatho-Rusyn community was represented, in part, by the Slavjane Folk Art Ensemble which is co-sponsored by Holy Ghost Byzantine Catholic Church in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania and the Greek Catholic Union. Slavjane was augmented by some of its alumni performers and cantors and cantores for the tri-state area. In total, the Carpatho-Rusyn community fielded a 90-voice folk choir and up to 40 folk dancers who gave various performances featuring songs and dances representative of Už and Zemplyn counties.

In addition to the music and dance, there was a food booth, a comprehensive folk art display, and live folk art demonstrations at which several featured artists shared their talents. Lawrence Bosonyak of Lawrenceville, Penn-

sylvania, demonstrated his skill at iconography. Ken Kochis of Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania, showed his artistry at wood carving. John Righetti of Avalon, Pennsylvania, showed off his talent as a pysanky artist. Traditional Carpatho-Rusyn woodburning techniques and embroidery skills were shown by Bonnie Balas of Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

These events and displays were a credit to the Carpatho-Rusyn community and were praised for their professionalism and the skill and enthusiasm of the performers. What was particularly gratifying, was the cooperation, support, and high attendance by members of both the Orthodox and Catholic Carpatho-Rusyn parishes of the Pittsburgh area.

Minneapolis, Minnesota. On June 10, 1987, the priests, deacons, parish president and others of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral of Minneapolis were guests of Roman Catholic Archbishop John Roach, at his St. Paul, Minnesota residence. The Archbishop had extended the invitation for the purpose of congratulating the parish on the occasion of its 100th anniversary, but the event had significance beyond that.

In 1889, then Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Paul, John Ireland, received the Greek Catholic priest Alexis Toth for the purpose of reviewing his credentials prior to allowing him to assume his position as pastor of St. Mary's Church. That meeting, which ended in acrimony, initiated a series of events which eventually resulted in not only the Reverend Toth and the parishioners of St. Mary's turning to the Orthodox faith, but led, in turn, to many, many more Carpatho-Rusyn parishes making the same decision.

In reference to the infamous 1889 meeting, Archbishop Roach said, "I have a sense of regret that the outcome of that meeting was a replication on the local level of the Great Schism that occurred between the Eastern and Western churches in 1054." He went on to say, "It is appropriate that

we from the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis and St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral should gather to commemorate the foundation of St. Mary's parish. We should lament the harshness that existed between our forebearers and the division that resulted from it."

The Reverend Thaddeus Wojcik, the present pastor of St. Mary's, expressed his wish "... that all Christians who hear of our meeting will be more aware that God can overcome former hostilities and begin to heal ancient wounds." The Reverend Wojcik also invited Archbishop Roach to come to St. Mary's to meet with Metropolitan Theodosius and Bishop Boris in October, when the main events in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of St. Mary's will take place.

Mercer, Pennsylvania. Sunday, June 14, 1987, was the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Camp Nazareth, the beautiful camping and retreat facility of the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. In celebration of the occasion, the Slavjane Folk Art Ensemble performed a one hour Carpatho-Rusyn cultural salute. Present for the morning liturgy, speeches, and the day's festivities was His Grace, Bishop Nicholas Smisko.

West Mifflin, Pennsylvania. June 25, 1987, the day of the 1987 Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Day at Kennywood Amusement Park, featured a picnic and several cultural festivities including a performance by the choir of St. Nicholas Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church of Homestead, Pennsylvania. The choir performed liturgical and folk selections under the direction of David Ruschak. Jerry Jumba led a Carpatho-Rusyn sing-a-long. Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Day is sponsored by the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese of Johnstown and in attendance for the celebration was His Grace, Bishop Nicholas Smisko along with members of the clergy.

FROM OUR READERS

To the Editor:

I have been a loyal reader of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* since its inception and have purchased just about everything that the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center has published or distributed. You are all doing an outstanding service to "our people," but I have a fear in the pit of my stomach that someday this will stop and we Carpatho-Rusyns (or whatever nomenclature we may want to use) will be back where we started — with precious little available to study about "our people."

I know that other ethnic groups have been able to establish permanent endowments at American universities for the particular study of their people. I am curious what your thoughts are on the establishment of a "chair" of Carpatho-Rusyn studies? Can it be done and what exactly has to be done? How can we overcome the difficulties of the many names by which we are called so that *all* of "our people" can get together in this endeavor? I for one would be willing to do my share to make it a reality, if we could have some guidance. I also wonder what reaction other readers of *Carpatho-Rusyn American* may have concerning this.

John Gera
Minneapolis, Minnesota

To the Editor:

I am very pleased with my copy of *Rusyn Easter Eggs from Eastern Slovakia* by Pavlo Markovyč. The tradition of decorating and coloring Easter eggs with a pin head for our Easter baskets has been handed down to the third generation in our family, but we didn't know what the various symbols etc. meant.

My sisters and I were fortunate enough to visit the town of Svetlice, Czechoslovakia in 1980, where our parents and grandparents were born and we're proud of our heritage and ethnic background.

Enclosed is a check for \$100 for four more copies of the book for members of my family who were as thrilled as I was with the wealth of information in the book.

Mrs. J. Stachniky
Hammond, Indiana

To the Editor:

I would like to see more on Carpatho-Rusyns in the Orthodox churches — in particular the reasons and methods for the Russification of the first Uniates to return to Orthodoxy in the Russian Metropolia.

John Righetti
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



FROM THE EDITOR

Our Spring 1987 issue contained a survey which a surprising number of you took the time to complete and return. More than 12 percent of those who received it have responded. This we are told is more than is to be expected from a free response survey such as ours and the returns are still coming in. Of those who have responded, all but a very few have conveyed messages of support and encouragement. In fact, everyone has been asking for more of just about everything. We will be hard pressed to meet all of your requests.

There were a few surprises in the returns that merit discussion. Though the majority of respondents feel that we are neutral on matters of religion and ethnic politics, some critical commentary concerning a perception of bias in these areas — often contradictory — was received. To some we are pro Orthodox, to some pro Catholic. To a few others we are neutral on religious orientation but have political/ethnic biases — pro Slovak, pro Ukrainian, and pro Polish. No one said we were pro Russian but one recommended that we adopt that orientation. No other critical comments were received except for two or three people who wrote of the need we all recognize to contain subscription increases. The critical remarks, in particular the perception of bias, deserve a response.

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* and its sponsor, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, were created without religious bias and make every effort to operate without one to this day. Our intent is to be a true witness to our people — all of them — whatever their faith. The religious activity of our people is an essential component of their ethnic and cultural affairs. In fact, for many Carpatho-Rusyns it is often the only manifestation of their heritage, and so we publicize religious events that reflect our ethnicity. We do not try to manipulate artificially the proportion of publicised Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic events. We cover events as they occur and as information about them reaches us. If in one newsletter there is more space given to what some may consider to be Orthodox or Byzantine Catholic activities or viewpoints, it is because that is where the action was. The key criterion in publishing material is whether it is Rusyn and of interest to our readers. This is the position we have always taken and continue to follow to this day. If an event or article is Carpatho-Rusyn, and in our judgement warrants the attention of our readers, we will print it as space allows. The faith discussed in the article or that of the author is irrelevant to the decision to use it.

As for being depicted as pro anything other than Carpatho-Rusyn, we are surprised. We are Carpatho-Rusyns serving a readership of Carpatho-Rusyns, scholars, and friends. Our focus is not political, but ethnic, cultural, and historical. Our biases are clearly along those lines. Our ethnic bias is Carpatho-Rusyn, our cultural bias is Carpatho-Rusyn, and our historical bias is for the truth. Difficult though it often is, we strive to divorce ethnic affairs from political ones. We are not a political organization. When it comes to any political issues — and many aspects of Slovakization or Ukrainianization are political questions — we are witnesses, not participants. We will report on these matters and we will gladly allow others to argue them in our pages as space

allows and readership interest merits, but we will not take other than what are clearly labeled as editorial positions on them. We select material only on the basis of it being ethnically appropriate, of high quality, and of interest to our readers. Political considerations have not entered into the process and will not in the future.

The main points that came out of our survey are that you, our readers, are appreciative of our efforts and that you want more from us in the future. Over the next several months we will be formulating plans to meet your requests wherever possible. And those requests are many. Some examples:

David and Diana Baycura of Beaufort, South Carolina, request articles on the day to day routine of trades people such as icon screen makers, carpenters, and wheel wrights; the history of particular towns, from their origin to the destinations their emigrants chose in America; and an article for each of the other regions our people came from along the lines of the article on Lemkos which was in our spring issue.

Ken Kochis of Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania, wants a series on regional costumes.

Michael Lembike of Fairview Park, Ohio, would like many more articles on Lemko Rusyns.

Larry Goga of Minneapolis, Minnesota, requests articles on family names and home villages.

By far, the majority of respondents expressed an interest in an expanded newsletter published more frequently, even if a higher price is necessary.

This is just a sample of the range of requests we received for more information in general and new articles and series. In addition, there were many individual inquiries for specific information which will take time to research and respond to, but all queries will be acknowledged and answered as best as we can.

The most exciting aspect of the survey responses is the virtually 100 percent interest in a "Friends" organization to support the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. The same level of interest in a national festival was also expressed. We will thoroughly explore the possibility of each. However, because we are an entirely non-profit and volunteer team and both our staff and financial resources are limited, these projects will not be realized without the direct involvement of our readers. We will be in contact with those of you who expressed an interest in these ideas to help organize a group to initiate these new activities.

We are encouraged that the vast majority of respondents gave us high marks and we are appreciative of the many kind comments. Michael Kalinak of Chicago, Illinois, echoed what we had hoped to hear and what so many others also expressed. "The publication is more than any Carpatho-Rusyn American could hope for. Being a first generation American of Carpatho-Rusyn descent, I suspect succeeding generations will need all the Carpatho-Rusyn influence available to maintain their ethnicity. I personally enjoy the newsletter tremendously" We thank you Michael Kalinak and we gratefully thank all of you who responded to the survey.

VOLODYMYR CHYLJAK (1843-1893)

A salient characteristic of nineteenth-century Lemko culture was that its creators were from the clergy. The possibility to obtain an education and then to work within Lemko culture became synonymous with graduating from a theological seminary and either becoming a parish priest or continuing with university studies. An indication of the great need for scholarly activity among the Lemkos was the significant number of academics from the Lemko Region holding doctorates and professorial titles, whose contribution to the development of learning, especially theology, is significant.

Nonetheless, for many among this Lemko intelligentsia, the need for a wider range of Lemko activities — social, literary, educational, and political — became evident. In fact, the educated clergy was to play a key role in determining the ideological and political profile of the Lemko Region. Priests attempted to direct the development of Lemko national consciousness both through their pastoral activity and through the printed word. As a result, a political, historical, didactic, and moralizing literature arose. Besides such “practical” works, there were also examples of literary texts born out of an authentic aesthetic gift and creative need.

One of the best known and talented Lemko writers was Volodymyr Chyljak. He was born and worked in the Lemko Region, and his prolific pen left for posterity a large number of literary works. A four-volume edition of his complete works appeared already in L'viv between 1881 and 1887, and his writings even came to the attention of the leading Russian Slavist of the time, Aleksandr Pypin.

Volodymyr Chyljak was born on July 15, 1848 in Wirchomla Wielka (Virchovnja Velyka), a Lemko Rusyn village (Nowy Sącz district) in the former Habsburg Austrian province of Galicia, where his father Ignatyj was a Greek Catholic priest. The young Volodymyr finished primary school and six grades of gymnasium in the nearby town of Nowy Sącz, after which he was sent across the Carpathians to Prešov, where he received his gymnasium diploma. He remained in Prešov and completed his studies at the Greek Catholic Seminary there. In 1866 he married Angelika Durkot from the Lemko village of Izby and soon after was ordained a Greek Catholic priest. For the rest of his life, Chyljak served as a parish priest in the Lemko villages of Dolyny (Gorlice district), Izby (Grybów district), and Bartne/Bortne (Gorlice district); then he was sent farther east to Lityn (Drohobych district), where he remained until his death in 1893.

For most of his life — 22 years — he lived in Bartne. It was in that Lemko village where Chyljak began his literary career and where he wrote almost all of his works, some of which were published under his own name, others under pseudonyms such as Jeronim Anonym, V. Neljach, Ja sam, Lemko Semko, Nikyj, and Quidam russkij. Chyljak's corpus consists of about fifty works — novels, tales, short stories — all of which are closely related to life in the Lemko Region. He quickly became popular among Lemko readers as well as among readers in the Russian Empire.

Among Chyljak's best works are the short stories and novels: “Šybenyčnyj verch” (1883), “Pol'skij patriot” (1872), “Vlečenie serdec” (1874), “Supružestvo i četyre fakultety” (1880), “Velykij perekinčyk v malom rozmiri” (1881), “Poslidnaja čarka” (1888), “Ščastja ne v hrošach” (1889), “Perša ljubov” (1891), and “Ne sudyte i ne sudymy bud'te” (1893).



He also wrote humorous anecdotal tales that are full of life (“Ryba,” “Poznal svoju ženu”), satires (“Na ščo russkij očy dyvljatsja,” “O rosti čelovičeskom”), and feuilletons (“Ja i ona,” “Kumedija i čudasja,” “Pojedynok,” “Vody v Vysovi”). Most of Chyljak's works first appeared in the Galician Rus' newspaper *Slovo* as well as in journals in the Russian Empire such as *Slavjanskij vek* and *Russkij vestnik*.

Chyljak's prose reveals his excellent familiarity with Lemko problems and it brings to light happy as well as difficult moments in the lives of individual Lemkos. Because they are marked by emotional engagement with their subject, Chyljak's writings are imbued throughout with expressiveness and authenticity. The narratives are clear, the plots are uncomplicated, and there are frequent references to Lemko customs. Chyljak's great sensitivity to the beauty of nature must also be mentioned. He often provided rich descriptions of the Lemko landscape that revealed a love of this native land and his closeness to it. As for philosophical and moralistic elements, they are introduced in the form of digressions and reflections about life and man's fate.

The Reverend Chyljak was a historian and ethnographer as well as a belletrist. Besides historical novels, often based on actual events in the Lemko past, he wrote scholarly articles on ethnography, in particular on Lemko wedding rites and related customs. Volodymyr Chyljak's contribution to Lemko cultural development is outstanding, and through his writings readers from many lands can gain an insight into Lemko life in a direct and all encompassing manner.

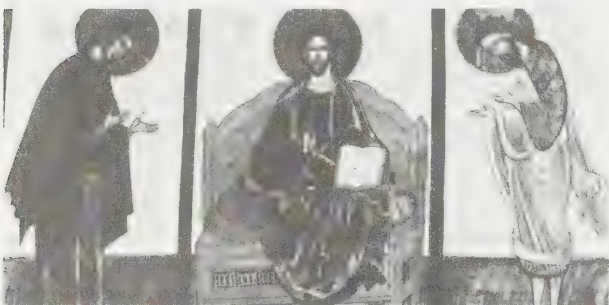
Olena Duc
Uście Gorlickie, Poland

The following articles on Lemko traditional women's clothing and icons with photographs were sent specially to the Carpatho-Rusyn American by the Ukraina Society in Kiev, to whom we express our appreciation. — Editor

ICON PAINTING IN THE LEMKO REGION

The extreme diversity of style in the pictorial arts of the Lemko Region makes an immediate impression on any expert in the field. A probable explanation for the artistic variety is the fact that the Lemkos lived in a mountainous border region where censorship on the part of religious authorities was weak. As a result, local painters enjoyed greater artistic latitude when carrying out the requests of various rural neighborhoods for icons. Despite the amazing diversity of Lemko icons, there are still certain common features inherent in all the works, such as a distinct emotional character, expressiveness, and a boundless love for bright decorative coloring. At the same time, one often finds a restrained simplicity as well as laconic and monumental compositions which recall the earlier monumental art current in the Rus' lands during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. In particular, the presence of red and green backgrounds in Lemko art is a tribute to the traditions of wall and icon-painting popular in medieval Kievan Rus', most especially in the murals of St. Sophia's Cathedral and St. Cyril's Church in Kiev.

When we turn to the Lemko Region these traits can be observed in the fifteenth-century murals of the Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God in the village of Węglówka/Vanivka (Krosno district). A monumental composition called The Prayer impresses the viewer with its contrasting charac-



1. The Prayer, detail from the iconostas, is in the church at Węglówka/Vanivka, fifteenth century.

teristics of the three figures, which because of their rhythmically chosen positions on a field of light ochre recall the mosaic pattern contrasting with a gold background found in Kiev's St. Sophia's Cathedral. Still, the most refined creation in the church at Węglówka is the monumental icon of the Dormition of the Mother of God. The dynamic rhythm of the composition suggests an exquisite and noble character that is permeated with an almost music-like sound of color expressed through a marvelous combination of bright and subdued tones. The specific alternation of sinuous, bent, straight, vertical, and horizontal lines force the viewer to concentrate, despite himself, on every shade of color and on the outlines of various objects amid which were placed the participants of this most festive event — the birth of a child. Marked by the elevated moral atmosphere, this icon is a genuine hymn to maternity enshrouded in charms of poetry and beauty.

Regardless of the workshop at which they were created, the icons of the Lemko Region are very important for scholarly research, since they provide material evidence of the advanced aesthetic level of the Lemkos. Lemko artistic preferences lay in light and fresh colors, among which red was dominant. And ever since earliest times, bright vermilion has been used by folk painters with a sense of decorative subtlety. This trait is already distinguishable, for example, in the icon depicting the Archangel Michael from the village of Daliowa/Dal'ova (Sanok district). The viewer finds himself virtually unable to take his eyes from the glowing red of the Archangel's cape.



2. The Dormition, by the master painter Aleksej, detail from the iconostas in the church at Węglówka/Vanivka, 1547.



3. The Archangel Michael, from the iconostas in the church at Daliowa/Dal'ova, first half of the fifteenth century.



4. The Pantocrator, from the church at Milik/Mylyk, late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries.



5. The Mother of God, from the iconostasis in the church at Jawornyk/Javirnyk, early sixteenth century.

The wide spectrum of compositions and color techniques, chosen carefully for their function in the ensemble, are characteristic of all icons from Lemko villages in the Lower Beskyds. The icon of the Pantocrator from the village of Milik/Mylyk (Nowy Sącz district) underlines the monumentality of this image of the all-powerful Lord. The outline of the figure is clearly emphasized against a red field, thereby evoking associations with classical statues.

Lemko Region painters demonstrate a completely opposite artistic approach in the icon of the Mother of God from the village of Jawornyk/Javirnyk (Sanok district). Here the stately silhouette and the proudly uplifted head of the Mother of God emphasize her unique role.

Icons representing the saints and their life stories form a separate group. Thus, St. Paraskeva and Her Life Story, from the fifteenth century, is one of the oldest examples of Lemko icon painting preserved to this day. In the center of the icon the artist portrayed St. Paraskeva dressed in a scarlet cape which falls in heavy folds from her head to her feet, covering her entire body. This clearly suggests the painter is a monumentalist, giving preference to a powerful, laconic, and stern manner of painting. The loftiness of St. Paraskeva, the principal image of the icon, is emphasized by the miniatures in the side panels that illustrate her life and saintly acts. The pain and suffering of the heroine St. Paraskeva were well known to the common folk. This allowed for unambiguous associations with the events of her actual life, which encouraged compassion for all the downtrodden and oppressed. This theme vividly demonstrates the humanism of traditional Lemko ecclesiastical art. The unswerving courage of St. Paraskeva served as an example to the people and it helped them develop the unbreakable willpower needed to overcome evil and violence. Her courage also provided a model for people to follow a path away from sin and compromise, which would threaten moral values.

Alongside St. Paraskeva, St. Nicholas enjoyed special respect and popularity (see our Front Cover), as well as other saints like Dmitrii, Basil, Barbara, and the profitless healers named Kozma and Demian. This list can be supplemented with the vast compositions depicting the Passions and the Last Judgement.

The icons described here were all created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a time when the modern states of Europe were beginning to form. For Lemkos, this process coincided with a most difficult period in their history. However, ecclesiastical art, with its highly aesthetic, sincere, and humanistic ideals, encouraged the simple folk and gave them hope for a better future. This art also called for self-sacrifice in the name of the most noble of principles: "no feeling known is greater than the desire to die for a fellow's sake." Finally, the appearance in many Lemko icons of the canonized Kievan princes and princesses (Vladimir, Olga, Boris, and Gleb) clearly revealed the cultural ties that Lemkos maintained with Kiev, the mother of Rus' cities. Still today we can see that Lemko icon painting, with its own set of ethical norms, rules, and examples of highly moral behavior, is a veritable treasure of artistic masterpieces.

Hryhoryj Lohvyn
Kiev, USSR



6. St. Paraskeva and Her Life Story, fifteenth-sixteenth century, National Museum, Cracow.

TRADITIONAL LEMKO WOMEN'S CLOTHING

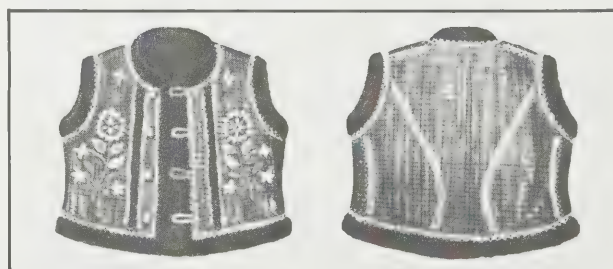
This article is written by Ivan Krasovs'kyj, a Lemko historian-ethnographer and curator of the Lemko section in the open-air folk museum in L'viv, Soviet Ukraine. The article was translated from Ukrainian by Jurij Škljar and appears here with the courtesy of the Ukraina Society in Kiev. — Editor

Clothes worn by Lemkos have always fascinated outsiders by their striking variety of designs and color patterns. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Lemkos made their garments from homespun linen and heavy, coarse cloth. Later, the intrusion of commercial manufacture into the peasant's daily life had an impact on the evolution of clothing as well. Cheap factory-made fabrics gradually replaced homemade garments, although the latter retained traditional folk designs.

Lemko women generally wore underclothes consisting of a *soročka* (blouse) and a *spidnyk* (underskirt), also known as a *podolok*. On holidays, they put on fine linen blouses and weekdays they wore ones made of coarser *konipne* fabric. These blouses were generally short, 20-24 inches. In the eastern Lemko Region, the blouses were tucked into the skirt; farther west they were sewn onto the skirt. A typical blouse from the Sanok district had a stiff collar. Beneath it, the cloth was pleated, with three-row embroidery (*tryrjadka*) done in bracket (*lapkŷ*) and square-stitch (*kvadratykŷ*), using blue and red threads and embellishing the sleeves below the shoulders. Toward the edge, the sleeves were also pleated. The cuffs were narrow, decorated with three-row embroidery and a pointed overhand stitch at the end (*zubci*). Blouses made in the central Lemko district of Jasto had

somewhat broader solid sleeves with multicolored needlework in the lower part. The broad cuffs boasted embroidered leaves, twigs, and flowers, and ended in slits trimmed with colorful overhand.

The outer garments included a skirt, known as the *kabat* or *fartuch*, with a small *fartuřok* or *zapaska* (literally, apron, but here that part of woman's dress which serves as a skirt). The skirt proper was wide, pleated at the waist, with the straight folds pleated still more at the bottom. Until late in the nineteenth century, dresses worn every day were unornamented, whereas holiday garments boasted needlework in the form of sun-shaped, curved, flower, and leaf-styled patterns. These were done in blue or brown thread. Designs were first carved on a wooden board. The board was then covered with a fine layer of dye and an imprint made upon a length of cloth. Such a print dress was called a *maljovanka* or *farbanka*. As factory-made fabrics found their way to the countryside, these *farbanka* dresses gradually disappeared.



A sheepskin jacket (*kožuřanka*) with bouquet pattern on front and lamb stitch (*baranok*) on edges. (Photo courtesy of the Ukraina Society, Kiev)

In a description of the Lemkos from 1841, the Galician Ukrainian ethnographer Ivan Vahylevyč claimed that Lemko women even then wore calico finely-pleated skirts in summer, but come winter they put on those same homemade *farbanka* dresses. Along the border with the Boyko Region in the east, Lemko women dressed in colorful skirts. Those worn by unmarried girls were blue, red, and pink; those by married women were green; and those by widows were black. In the central and western parts of the Lemko Region, the *nyz* or solid stitch was used to sew narrow colorful stripes on women's skirts. The front from the belt down was a hand's length from the hem under the *zapaska* skirt and was made from a wedge of homespun linen.

The "shoulder garments" consisted of a *lajbyk*, *korset* (bodice), *kožušanka* (sheepskin vest), *kožušok* (short sheepskin coat), *serdak* (peasant's coat of coarse wool), and *hunka* (jacket). The *lajbyk* was a kind of sleeveless waistcoat made of blue coarse cloth, decorated with multi-colored laces and buttonholes.

A popular variety of the sleeveless jacket is found in the *korset* (*korsetka*) bodice, which was made of dyed coarse cloth, silk, or velvet, and lined with homespun linen. Its bottom section, from the belt to the hem, ends in semicircular wedges (*klynci*) or flaps (*klapani*), and the *korset* bodice was more often than not buttoned up. Throughout the Jasło district and in the outskirts of the towns of Nowy Sącz and Gorlice, *korset* bodices were embroidered with colorful threads and laced with tiny shining plates and flower-shaped beads.

Sometimes, a Lemko woman would put a sheepskin jacket (*kožušanka*) on top of the blouse. This jacket was designed to resemble the *korset* bodice, but without the wedges (flaps) at the bottom. This garment was widespread in the central part of the Lemko Region. It was made of cherry-colored velvet, lined by homemade coarse cloth or linen. The edges were trimmed with black sheepskin or other differently dyed material. It was embellished by a couple of bouquets of various color and embroidered on the chest. In the Sanok district, women used to wear short yellow sleeveless wool-lined jackets. The edges were complete with the *baranok* (lamb) stitch. Floral needlework brightened up the chest.

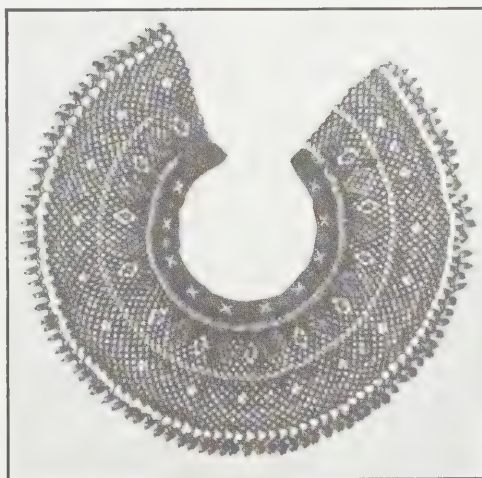
The *serdak* (woolen coat) and *hunka* (jacket) were made of homespun linen. An unlined *serdak* — loose and of simple cut — was ornamented by colorful sewn-on laces. The *hunka* was a jacket with different kinds of lining. It was worn on cold days. Its collar, the ends of its sleeves, the lower and front edges, the trimming of the pockets were covered with white or blue factory-made coarse cloth, or with red or green woolen laces, called *suknjat*. Down the back there were *falda* (slits). In the eastern Lemko villages, the *hunka* was made of black or gray coarse cloth, while in the western Lemko villages, similar garments were made of white cloth. These jackets were either buttoned up or fastened with wire hooks. Lemkos used to wear *hodak* or *kerpci*, shoes made of two rectangular pieces of rawhide tied to the feet with woolen strings known as *navolok*. On Sundays and on holidays they wore Hungarian fancy boots with high legs.

Lemko women covered their heads with pieces of white cloth. Elder women wore big *babuškas* which they knotted at the back or folded up, throwing the rest of the cloth over the shoulders. A *babuška* was often decorated with small flowers, the edges trimmed by colorful patterns. The part that hung from the back featured a large embroidered flower whose design was in each case decided by the craftswoman.

Lemko women and girls also used to wear *krajky* and other strings of beads. A *krajka* necklace was braided, using strings of different beads and forming a band with a vegetative ornament that was fastened round the neck. The *hardan* represented a more sophisticated design, having a network of whimsically-braided colorful beads. *Korali* (literally, corals) were strings of beads tied round the neck, consisting of some 10 to 15 strings varying in length. These were either red (genuine sea-bred corals) or cheap glass imitations.

After World War II, the practice and trades of working wool and making fiber began noticeably to decline. It was at that time that traditional Lemko garments were discarded. In the Soviet Union, only Lemko women in far northwestern Transcarpathia (Subcarpathian Rus') have persisted in wearing the traditional dress for daily use. Among other Lemko immigrants in the Soviet Union, it is only in folk ensembles that traditional dress is worn, as in the Lemko choirs from the villages of Lośniv (Ternopil' region) and Rudne near L'viv.

Ivan Krasovs'kyj
L'viv, USSR



The *hardan*, worn around the neck. (Photo courtesy of the Ukraina Society, Kiev)

IN MEMORIAM: IVAN MACYNS'KYJ (1922-1987)

When in the future some historian will undertake objective research into the cultural development of Carpatho-Rusyns in the Prešov Region during the decades following World War II, undoubtedly in first place must appear the name Ivan Macyns'kyj who died earlier this year on the eve of his 65th birthday. He was a writer, literary critic, historian, politician, community activist, and organizer of cultural life in the Prešov Region. But above all, he was a poet — a poet of the Carpathians.

No one has described our native Carpathians with such poetic strength as Macyns'kyj. Love for his native land was the thread that ran through all five of his poetic collections. At the same time, no one but Macyns'kyj seemed able to describe so convincingly the historical evolution of the Subcarpathian Rusyns during the first half of the nineteenth century as he did in one of his historical monographs.

Macyns'kyj's own life was a perfect example of the difficult cultural and political development experienced by the Prešov Region during the past sixty years. Raised a Carpatho-Rusyn traditionalist, he then became a determined Russophile, but in the end consciously adopted a Ukrainian orientation. It was in Ukrainian that he wrote his best works, even though when he was in his fifties, he was completely isolated from the cultural life of the Prešov Region. His last collection, *Vinky sonetiv* (Wreaths of Sonnets, 1985), represents the high point of his creativity, and it will definitely assure him a respected place in Ukrainian literature.

Ivan Macyns'kyj was born on April 9, 1922, in Medzila-borce, where his father worked for the railroad. After completing the Prešov Teacher's College, where he first began to write poetry, he taught school in the village of Vilagy (today Svetlice). During World War II, he joined the underground resistance against Nazism and took part in the Slovak National Uprising. Then he joined the Czechoslovak Corps of General Svoboda, which fought within the ranks of the Soviet Red Army.

After the war, Macyns'kyj became a member of the Czechoslovak Communist party, a member of the central committee of the Ukrainian National Council of the Prešov Region, and editor of the council's Russian-language newspaper, *Prjaševščina* (1945-1952). As a potentially talented politician, Macyns'kyj was sent immediately after the war in 1945 to Prague in order to complete the three-year program at the Advanced School for Politics and Social Studies. While in Prague he also was one of the co-founders of the Russian-language journal for Carpatho-Rusyns *Koster* (1946). In 1949 he published in Russian his first collection of poetry, *Belye oblaka* (White Clouds) and a brochure entitled *Tokaik*, about a Carpatho-Rusyn village that was involved in wartime partisan activity.

After his return to Prešov, he worked as a dramatist (1950-1951) at the Ukrainian National Theater and then as professor of philosophy and political science (1951-1956) at the newly-founded Orthodox Theological Faculty. During this period his play, *Starij Zelenjak* (The Old Man Zelenjak, 1950) was performed in Russian by the Ukrainian National Theatre, while Prešov's Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT) published his translation in Russian: *Antologija slo-vackoj poëzii* (An Anthology of Slovak Poetry, 1953).

Until early 1952, Macyns'kyj wrote exclusively in Russian, and like almost the whole population of the Prešov Region,



he identified himself as being of Rusyn and later of Russian nationality. During the first half of the 1950s and under the influence of his studying the history of the Prešov Region, he began to change his national orientation, so that in his poetic collection, *Naša mova* (Our Language, 1956), he changed completely to the Ukrainian orientation, even if in this work there were still a few poems in Russian from his earlier period.

During the 1950s, the level of his community activism increased. He served as chairman (1952) of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers, was the initiator and first head (1952) of the section of Ukrainian Writers within the Union of Slovak Writers, founding editor (1953) of the journal *Duklja*, and director of the Ukrainian National Theater, during which time (1956-1960) he strengthened the theater's financial status. Macyns'kyj was also in part responsible for the establishment in 1957 of the Dukla Ukrainian Song and Dance Ensemble.

However, the height of his civic and political work came with the 1960s, when he became head of the Prešov-based Ukrainian section of the Slovak Pedagogical Publishing House. After a break he headed once again the Ukrainian section of the Union of Slovak Writers, was a member of the central committee of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers, and even a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Slovakia.

To improve the distribution of books Macyns'kyj set up a book club for Ukrainian literature published in Czechoslovakia, which soon included 800 to 1,000 members. In his editorial work he brought in leading scholarly specialists, worked out a complete publishing program, and organized scholarly seminars, conferences, and discussions in the press. During his ten years as director, the Ukrainian section

of the Slovak Pedagogical Publishing House issued 122 titles (not including school texts and teachers' manuals which numbered another 400). Among these were works by all present-day Prešov Region writers as well as two volumes of the complete works of Aleksander Duchnovyč, the complete poetry of the greatest Lemko poet Bohdan Antonyč, and individual anthologies of the works of Volodymyr Vynnyčenko, Dmytro Fal'kivs'kyj, Oleksandr Oles', Natalena Koroleva — Ukrainian writers banned at the time in the Soviet Ukraine — as well as anthologies of the Carpatho-Rusyn writers Iryna Nevyc'ka and Marko Barabolja, collections of folklore, and outstanding scholarly monographs dealing with the Prešov Region. He also was the first to publish the works of the so-called "popular poets," that is, poets who wrote in Rusyn dialect.

As for his own writings, during these years he published two collections of poetry, *Karpats'ki akordy* (Carpathian Harmonies, 1962) and *Prystritnyky* (Sorcerers, 1968), the short story *Zymova nič* (The White Night, 1961), and an important scholarly work dealing with the cultural history of Subcarpathian Rusyns from the end of the eighteenth century until the death of Duchnovyč entitled *Rozмова storič* (The Centuries Speak, 1965).

The year 1970 began with the greatest tragedy in Macyns'kyj's life. He was thrown out of the Communist party, the Union of Writers, and removed from all positions of authority (from director of the Ukrainian Publishing House he was demoted to an ordinary editor), and he was forbidden from publishing any of his own writings. Not one work of his appeared during the 1970s, and his 50th and 60th birthdays passed by without the slightest mention in the press.

However, he did not stop writing. Shut up in his office, he met with hardly anyone. Yet besides his editorial duties, including the greatly expanded volumes VI through XIV of the *Naukovyj zbirnyk*, the scholarly journal of the Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svidník, Macyns'kyj began to create in the most difficult poetic form — the sonnet. And in ten years his creativity was unsurpassed, including his 300 "wreaths

of sonnets" in the collection *Vinky sonetiv*, which in number surpassed all records not only in Ukrainian but in all Slavic literatures.

Besides this, responding to the suggestions of Slovak colleagues, he translated into Ukrainian all the basic works from the classics of Slovak poetry, such as Ján Botto, Samo Chalúpka, Janko Kráľ, and Andrej Sládkovič, as a result of which he holds first place for the number of translations from Slovak into a foreign language. Moreover, it is not the quantity but the quality of Macyns'kyj's translations that is astonishing. Consequently, such achievements could not remain locked in unpublished manuscripts forever, and so finally he was allowed to publish two volumes of translations — those of Ján Botto (1981) and Samo Chalúpka (1984), a monograph on the Carpatho-Rusyn writer Vasyl' Dovhovyč (1984), and finally his outstanding *Vinky sonetiv* (1985).

Macyns'kyj's books were favorably received by the Slovak press in Bratislava and also by Soviet Ukrainian, Yugoslav, and Polish literary publications. Finally, in November 1984, he was given back his membership in the Ukrainian section of Union of Slovak Writers, the act by which he was completely rehabilitated in the eyes of Czechoslovak authorities.

Throughout his whole life, Macyns'kyj was incredibly productive, working without a break and most often in unfavorable circumstances. Such intensity, shaken as it was by frequent external pressures, could not help but have a negative effect on his health which after his 55th birthday noticeably began to decline.

On March 14, 1987, his sensitive heart stopped beating. At that moment, the Prešov Region lost one of its most outstanding and loyal sons — and Ukrainian literature one of its most outstanding poets. Ivan Macyns'kyj has left us a wide corpus of published and unpublished works which in years to come will provide a wealth of material for analysis by future scholars and critics.

Mykola Mušynka
Prešov, Czechoslovakia

IN REMEMBRANCE: IVAN MACYNS'KYJ

I first met Ivan Macyns'kyj in 1970, and thereafter we renewed our acquaintance and friendship through correspondence and personal meetings in Prešov. These meetings took place on an average once a year for the next sixteen years. Thus, the Macyns'kyj I came to know was the one, as Dr. Mušynka has just said, who was "shut up in his office" and who met "with hardly anyone." In retrospect, it was a great privilege that I was among the few with whom he continued to have contact.

Macyns'kyj remained throughout his life devoted to promoting the past and present cultural development of Carpatho-Rusyns. This remained his central goal, regardless of the fact that his national orientation may have changed from Rusyn, to Russian, to Ukrainian. Caught up in the fervor of the Prešov Region Rusyn intelligentsia, which in the early 1950s followed official Czechoslovak guidelines and began to adopt the Ukrainian orientation, Macyns'kyj still realized that the methods to achieve such "national reorientation" were wrong and ultimately counterproductive.

Thus, in the 1960s, when Czechoslovakia embarked on its period of political and cultural liberalization, Macyns'kyj

spoke out openly. In particular, he decried the fact that the local Carpatho-Rusyn language was avoided completely in the media and publications: "Once we knew these dialects," he wrote in 1965, "but then it seemed we did not need them because we wrote in Russian. With the change to Ukrainian, they seemed worth nothing, foolish, in short — not Ukrainian." By the Prague Spring of 1968, Macyns'kyj was in the forefront of a growing movement to reinstate the name Rusyn (banned from official use in the 1950s) and to replace Ukrainian with Rusyn in the local press, radio, and theater. He even prepared a 30-page (never published) guide that codified rules for writing in Carpatho-Rusyn.

However, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and the end of liberalization following the onset of "political consolidation" in 1970 silenced any further efforts at a Carpatho-Rusyn cultural policy for the Prešov Region. Macyns'kyj, nonetheless, remained an outspoken critic of the situation, whether it pertained to his Rusyn people or to Czechoslovakia as a whole. It is said, for instance, that the main reason for his removal from the Communist party and other positions of responsibility was that sometime in late 1969 he demanded at an official governmental session in Bratislava that Soviet troops leave Czechoslovak soil.

Effectively silenced in civic affairs, Macyns'kyj turned his energies exclusively to scholarship and poetry. He continued to work single-handedly in preparing the first and still only Encyclopedia of Carpatho-Rusyn History and Culture (published in excerpts before 1970 and since 1985), and he became the "responsible editor" for the *Naukovyj zbirnyk* of the Ukrainian Museum in Svidnik. The designation "responsible editor" meant that he did the conceptual and practical work, but because he was still banned from publishing, he could not have his name appear on the title page. And what work it was. Under his "direction," the annual journal underwent a renaissance with volume 7 in 1984, so that each subsequent issue ranged from 400 to 1300 pages! The quality was and remains unsurpassed in the history of Carpatho-Rusyn scholarship. For the first time, archival materials and manuscripts of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers like Vasyl' Dovhovyč, Mychal Lučkaj, Ivan Holovac'kyj, Ivan Bradač, and others were published. This unique contribution to the preservation of Carpatho-Rusyn culture was due in large part to Ivan Macyns'kyj.

Nor did Macyns'kyj forget Carpatho-Rusyns beyond his native Prešov Region. Unable to have his desire to publish in Rusyn implemented in Czechoslovakia, he willingly edited the introduction and reviewed the complete text of the Rusyn-English phrasebook and grammar, *Let's Speak Rusyn — Bisidujme po-rus'kŷ* (Prešov Region edition), which I published in 1976. He also made available from his library duplicates of rare publications from the Prešov Region which, as he once told me: "if they should be somewhere, let them be over there in America."

Closer to home, Macyns'kyj remained acutely aware of the unfortunate fate of his fellow Rusyns (Lemkos) just north of the Carpathians, who in 1947 were deported to various parts of western and northern Poland, that is, along the

Baltic Sea. Twenty years later, he wrote a poem to commemorate that tragic event. In consideration of the series presently appearing in the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* which marks the fortieth anniversary of that deportation, it may be useful to close with Macyns'kyj's own words about his Lemko Rusyn sisters and brothers:

Were I Johnson
I would rename
This foreign sea
The Great Lemko Ocean.
Were I Johnson . . .
But I am not Johnson,
Nor Stalin,
Nor Khrushchev,
Nor Brezhnev,
Nor Berut,
Nor Gomulka.
They are great,
We are small.
But now you already live on a different sea.
Granny from Komanča.
They call your sea the Baltic,
There you have new woes.
But here, near us, your
Old Carpathian shacks decay and
The inhabitants fill the
Carpathians with a foreign song.
And you, Granny from Komanča,
Ask where I should write to?
At least rename the Baltic Sea
The Lemko Sea.

Paul R. Magocsi
Toronto, Canada

RECENT EVENTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. On April 24-26, the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center of Philadelphia hosted an exhibition entitled, "Subcarpathian Churches in Graphics," by Tyrs Venhrynovyč. The exhibition included 120 churches from the Lemko Region, which is part of a major cycle of graphic art produced by the artist on that theme. The Reverend Dr. John Bilanych opened the exhibit with a lecture on the Lemko Region and its ecclesiastical architecture.

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Throughout the month of May, the Civic Center (Spoločenský Dom) in the suburb of Trnávka in Slovakia's capital of Bratislava held a photographic exhibit of Carpatho-Rusyn wooden churches. The exhibit was organized by Dr. Mykola Mušynka of Prešov based on photographs from the collection of Florian Zapletal that were published by Dr. Paul R. Magocsi in *Wooden Churches in the Carpathians* (Vienna, 1982), a volume sponsored by and available through the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. The Bratislava exhibit was accompanied by a brief catalog, and it was covered on the front page of the Bratislava newspaper, *Večerník* (May 12, 1987), which also mentioned with praise the book sponsored by the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center.

Jordanville, New York. On May 30-31, a two-day program was held at the Holy Trinity Monastery to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the appointment to the rank of bishop of His Eminence Archbishop Laurus Škurla, presently Arch-

bishop of Syracuse and Holy Trinity in the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (The Synod). Archbishop Laurus was born in the Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyn village of Ladomirová, and he heads the monastery in Jordanville which is the successor (including an exact reproduction of the monastery church) of the Orthodox monastery that was active in his native village during the interwar years in eastern Slovakia.

On the occasion of the anniversary, a beautiful full-color memorial booklet was published, which includes a biography of the archbishop in English and Russian (available from the Holy Trinity Monastery Bookstore, Jordanville, New York 13361).

Preceding the concluding banquet, a recital was performed by the world-renowned Russian-born cellist, Mstislav Rostropovich, presently conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington, D.C., who is a friend of Archbishop Laurus and a strong supporter of Holy Trinity Monastery.

Johnstown, Pennsylvania. On September 20, the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese of the U.S.A. inaugurated the Diocesan Jubilee Year. According to Bishop Nicholas Smisko, one of the goals of the Jubilee Year is the establishment of a Heritage Institute to serve as a cultural and religious museum. In asking for materials to be donated to the proposed museum, Bishop Smisko said: "We are heirs of a proud culture which can provide us with a means to continue our fidelity to Christ."

OUR CONDOLENCES

On June 18, 1987, Professor Peter G. Stercho died at his home in Narbeth, Pennsylvania. Stercho was born in 1919 in the Carpatho-Rusyn village of Kuz'myne, in what was then the province of Subcarpathian Rus' in Czechoslovakia, today the Transcarpathian oblast of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The young Stercho completed his elementary and high school education in his native province, where he was also an activist in the scouting organization of the Duchnovyč Society, which promoted the Russophile understanding of the Carpatho-Rusyn identity and culture.

Under the impact of the autonomous Carpatho-Ukrainian government in late 1938 and 1939, Stercho became a convinced Ukrainian patriot. After World War II, he emigrated first to the American zone in Germany and then to the United States, where in 1959 he received a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Notre Dame. His dissertation dealt with the "Carpatho-Ukraine in International Affairs, 1938-1939" (published in Ukrainian, 1965), and this was later expanded into a major English-language monograph, *Diplomacy of Double Morality* (New York, 1971). From 1963 until his death, Stercho was professor of economics at Drexel University of Philadelphia.

Professor Stercho was a member of numerous Ukrainian-American organizations and a long-time officer of the Carpathian Research Center in New York City, of which he became president in 1979 after the death of Julian Revay. A prolific writer, he published numerous articles on Ukrainophile leaders in Subcarpathian Rus' (Carpatho-Ukraine).

With his death, the Ukrainian orientation among Carpatho-Rusyns in the United States has lost its leading spokesman. Although never a supporter of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Peter G. Stercho remained a loyal native son who in a foreign land recorded and preserved for posterity important and often little-known aspects of the modern political development of his homeland. *Vična jemu pamjat'.*

Paul R. Magocsi
Toronto, Canada

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OUR FRONT COVER

St. Nicholas With Scenes from His Life, a Lemko icon from the early sixteenth century.

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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN®

A Newsletter on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



FROM THE EDITOR

We introduced 1987 to you as our newsletter's "Year of the Lemko." This was done not only because it is the fortieth anniversary of the forced removal of the Lemkos from their Carpathian homeland, but also because it would provide an opportunity to tell you about the present day hopes for a Lemko revival in Poland and to draw from their energy some vitality for ourselves in America.

This issue's feature article by Jaroslav Hunka, "The Lemkos Today," tells us from the heart what the lot of Poland's Lemkos is at present and what their hopes are for tomorrow. More significantly for us, and in conjunction with recent events in the United States, it shows us where we in our complacency have failed, not only our brothers and sisters in Poland, but also ourselves.

There is in Poland an outstanding Lemko folk ensemble, Lemkovyna. Although it was founded some fifteen years ago, it has repeatedly been denied an administratively separate existence, so today it functions reluctantly under the auspices of Poland's Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society (USKT). This fall, the Lemkovyna Folk Ensemble traveled to Canada and the United States for a month long concert tour. Jaroslav Hunka tells how Lemkovyna's first performance on television in Poland had made his parents cry since they thought that the war had wiped out their heritage. From all reports, the recent tour had the same effect on many in North America — they were performances of which we could be proud.

Yet this tour was also a kind of indictment of the Rusyn community in America. This is because Lemkovyna, a folk ensemble of Rusyns, not Ukrainians, was sponsored in the United States by the Ukrainian National Association and in Canada by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. This did not occur out of any malevolence on the part of the Ukrainian community. It occurred because over the past fifty years our Rusyn institutions, in particular our fraternal organizations who should be in the forefront of Rusyn cultural activity, have forgotten the culture and heritage that built them and have abandoned their links with the Lemko and other Rusyn communities in Europe. Instead of celebrating their Rusyn heritage and using that heritage to build their institutions and safeguard their communities, they have gone bowling. Because of that we all have paid a price. That price is our birthright.

In the Lemkovyna Folk Ensemble we have not only an outstanding group of Lemko Rusyn patriots and folk performers, we also have a unique opportunity to show the world that the Rusyn people are alive in both America and Europe and that they have a cultural and ethnic heritage to be shared and admired. But because of our complacency, we have not seized that and similar opportunities. For the most part we have not even recognized them. Instead, our people have allowed for a vacuum into which the Ukrainians have stepped. It is high time we realized, as Hunka tells us, that we are an endangered species, and that steps must be taken to assure our survival. In Poland, because of the

political situation, our Lemko brothers and sisters must look to the government, if not for help and for approval, at least for neutrality. In America, the only obstacles we Rusyns face are an organized and ambitious Ukrainian community, our own churches and fraternal organizations whose interests are elsewhere, and our own lackadaisical selves.

In the headlong rush to become successful in America, we have left behind what makes us unique, that priceless legacy of our parents, grandparents, and of the many generations of Rusyns that passed before us. We must once again recognize that to be a whole people we need a vital Rusyn heritage. This heritage is at risk today perhaps more than ever before, and unless we guard it, nurture it, and promote it, we cannot say it was lost or stolen. We ourselves are simply abandoning it. And with its abandonment we betray the trust of those of our people who suffered so much in the past to preserve the Rusyn heritage in America, and who still today struggle on behalf of it in Europe.

In the early decades of this century, our Rusyn people came to grips with what for them was the Ukrainian problem. The result was not so much a division, but a recognition of the fact that we are a distinct and separate people. This led to the creation of the parallel institutions that still today serve our respective Rusyn and Ukrainian communities. Rightly or wrongly, our Rusyn churches and fraternal organizations thought that they had won not just a great victory, but the war, and they retired from the battlefield. In the subsequent decades our people turned over the care of their Rusyn identity to their fraternal organizations and churches, and year after year that identity languished and wasted away as the energies of our leaders were sapped first by internecine struggles and then by fiscal problems and recreational concerns for the fraternal organizations, or by the desire to accommodate an ethnically diverse faithful for the churches. In the process, many forgot that we were Rusyns and that our devotion to each other and to our heritage was the reason for the existence of these institutions in the first place.

Now we are at a stage in our existence as a people where we must take advantage of opportunities in changing times. The Ukrainians have always been and still are with us, and theirs is an organized, attentive, and vital community. We must face the fact that pressure from the Ukrainian community will probably continue. On the other hand, there is a changing political situation in Eastern Europe, and new opportunities for our people to live in their homeland as Rusyns may soon arise. Regardless of the fate of *glasnost* in the Soviet Union, we do know that in Poland the Lemko Rusyns have awakened and we must be prepared to lend a hand.

The question, as always, is who will do what needs to be done? And the answer, as always, is — look in the mirror. If our Rusyn heritage is worthy of being saved, it can only be saved by you. It can be done. If the Lemko Rusyns, the ordinary ones, can claim their place in Poland, surely we must help them, and by doing so, we will do no less than help ourselves.

IVAN RUSENKO (1890-1960)

Lemkos still call him "the teacher," and indeed he was a teacher of the people, an ideological leader, and an awakener of Lemko patriotism and self identity. He was also the "most Lemko" of poets, who used superbly the simple Lemko language that blossomed from his pen. Rusenko fully expressed the problems of Lemko life, describing "what hurts" and "what cheers." He could warm the Lemko heart or chide it for misbehavior like a good and wise teacher.

Ivan Rusenko was born on August 15, 1890, into a poor peasant family in the Lemko Region village of Krasna (Krosno district) in the historic Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia. After finishing secondary school (*gymnasium*) at Nowy Sącz in 1913, he was conscripted into the Austrian imperial army. During World War I, he fought on the Serbian and Italian fronts, then in 1918 returned to his native village in what by then was Poland. After trying unsuccessfully for many years to obtain a position as a teacher to Lemko children, he finally had to accept a post in the Polish village of Lutczy where he lived for 21 years. At the close of World War II and the initial phase of the resettlement of Lemkos that began in 1945, Rusenko was forced to emigrate to the Soviet Ukraine, settling in the village of Korolivka in the far southeastern corner of the old province of Galicia. There he continued to teach in elementary school. However, he was deeply affected by the separation from his native Lemko Region as evident in the tragic and nostalgic tone of his poetry written until the time of his death on August 10, 1960.

Rusenka's main contribution to Lemko culture was based on his ability to reach the common Lemko whom he knew would be sensitive to the sincerity and simplicity with which such emotions are expressed in his poetry. He wrote exclusively in Lemko dialect and created poetic images of a homeland toward which he felt a deep filial attachment. His poetry helped to teach his fellow Lemkos similar attitudes.

*Ja rodyvsja tvoim synom — dolja moja bidna
Y ljublju tja Lemkovyno, moja maty ridna
Bo cym hoden pozabŷty našu hirsku krasu
Y smerekŷ y poljanŷ, de sja uci pasut.*

I was born your son and my fate is to be poor
Yet I love you, oh Lemko region, my motherland
For how can I forget the beauty of our mountains
The evergreen trees, and the pastures where the
sheep graze.

Throughout his writings Rusenko's main purpose was to teach Lemkos the value of their native heritage from which they could draw to become honest, industrious, good-natured, educated, and well-integrated individuals. The poet was also not averse to using satire, often in the form of caricature. Like his lyrical verses, his satire was presented in a manner that clearly characterized the subject, expressed personal inter-relationships, and mocked typical traits. Rusenko's fine character types — the grandfather, the head of the household, the herdsman, the priest — all seem to be taken directly from a pre-World War I Lemko environment. Such satire not only poked fun at negative phenomena in Lemko life, it also went directly to the heart of the matter:

*Pan kerovnyk školŷ
Učyt našŷ dity
Pol'shu šanuvaty
Rus' nenavydity*



The school director
Teaches our children
To praise Poland
And hate Rus'.

Anxious about the fate of his people and tireless in revealing life's truths, Rusenko reacted bitterly to the injustice suffered by the Lemkos and to Polish prejudice which he personally experienced many times. Yet, as a teacher and spiritual leader he could not become pessimistic — he had to remain both a consoler and an awakener:

*Ne vŷdusyly nas vsich katŷ
Y ne vŷssaly nam krov!
Jak bŷly našy Karpatŷ
Tak budut vo vik-vikov!*

The executioners have not crushed all of us
Nor sucked out all of our blood
Just as our Carpathians have been
So will they remain forever and ever!

The sadness of Rusenko's last poems reflect a dampening of the strength and vigour that had earlier characterized this tireless agitator. In the end, he saw how his hopes had come to naught, how his people were driven from their homes, and how they were scattered throughout the world: *Moja Otcyžna Lemkovyna zaraz za Sanom, jak za plotom/ Lem nja ne pustjat bez pašportu, zahorodyly bramu drotom* (My Lemko fatherland is beyond the San river, as if on the other side of a fence/ Only they don't let me go there without a passport, having closed the gate with barbed wire). While Rusenko may have met a melancholic and unhappy ending, his verse still lives. For Lemkos in Poland today, as for Lemkos during his lifetime, Rusenko's message continues to be both relevant and inspiring.

Olena Duc
Uście Gorlickie, Poland

THE LEMKOS TODAY

This article was published in 1985 in Warsaw, Poland as a booklet in a Polish-language series intended to provide background information for guides leading tourist and hiking trips in the Carpathian ranges (Lower Beskyds and Bieszczady) of southeastern Poland. The author's name, Jaroslav Hunka, is a pseudonym for a representative of that generation of Lemkos born and raised after World War II in the so-called "Recovered Lands" along the western and northwestern borders of Poland, where Lemkos were forcibly resettled in 1947. Therefore, when the author refers to "the West," he means the western part of Poland.

For certain passages or phrases, we have added explanatory notes in brackets. Passages or phrases within parentheses appear as such in the original text. — Editor

I do not remember at all when I learned that I was a Lemko. We lived in the country, somehow off the beaten track. I was three, perhaps four years old when we, my sister and I, came into contact with a neighborhood boy by the name of Leszek. We were surprised and amazed that he used different names than we did for some objects. In spite of this, we understood each other fairly well, and those differences did not hinder us at all when we played. This idyll was shortlived, however, for when I was already five we moved to a small town, and it was only there that I became aware, rather quickly, of my "otherness." I remember how the children laughed when I called my father *njanju* [Rusyn for daddy] from the yard.

I began to feel ashamed . . .
Then I learned to be afraid.

We were alone in the town. Father forbade us from using *njanju* and introduced *tato* [the Ukrainian word for daddy]. The latter has remained with us to this day. And today it is precisely the one that I am ashamed of!

I have travelled a great road in order, years later, to return at last to my point of departure. What kind of road has been travelled by my nation which also, I think, is returning to this point?

For a very long time I knew nothing about ourselves. At home they said that we were Lemkos simply in the ethnic sense, yet at the same time there prevailed a strange sort of attraction to Rus' (as a whole) which automatically spread to us, the children. Father sometimes said that he used to give his nationality as Rusyn.

Meanwhile, I had to learn Russian in basically the same way as my fellow pupils [in Polish schools]. I thought at the time, like all Poles probably, that a Rusyn (or Rusnak, as father said) was the same as a Russian.

I imbibed a love for the mountains almost along "with my mother's milk," and although I have been living "in the West" since birth, I regard myself as a mountain man. Incidentally, the shortest and until recently the most accurate definition

ran: "Lemkos — a tribe of Rusyn mountain people."

In time we learned how we had been resettled (for a long time yet we did not know why and our parents scarcely knew either), and how after World War II gangs roamed and — despite what was said in school about the [postwar] "after-glow" in the Bieszczady Mountains — the gangs in our area (western Lemko Region) were Polish. They robbed people and sometimes they beat them horribly.

In the winter of 1946-1947, my father, showing uncommon courage, went alone at night without any weapons in pursuit of an armed gang through snow- and forest-covered mountains, and he discovered from which village and from which houses came the people who had robbed my future mother of her last cow. We also heard from mother of how wisely and energetically father managed his farm after the war, and of his hopes and dreams for the development of his village and region.

Here, in the West, father could never adapt to life in his new circumstances. In his contacts with Poles he proved to be pliant, not resistant to conflicts, and gullible. Terribly gullible! He didn't cope at all. What can one say? Grown trees can't be replanted . . .

At the same time, he was quite well-read and had a broad general knowledge. For a long time he was my alpha and omega, yet his information on the subject of Rus' or the history of the Lemkos did not convince me very much. Sometimes he told us that the Lemkos once lived farther west and north, as far as Cracow. Stary Sącz was then called "Stary Sutek" and Nowy Sącz — "Novy Sutek." "Sutek" supposedly meant the place where two rivers flowed together (from the verb: *sutikaly*). In the case of Stary Sącz, the rivers were the Dunajec and the Poprad, and of Nowy Sącz, the Dunajec and the Kamienica. It was quite a logical explanation, but armed with history school books I did not believe it at all. How surprised I was when, searching (much later) for my roots, I came upon these same theories in important sources which father had no way of knowing, since they had not yet been published.

It appears from them that we come from the tribe of White Croats, whose nucleus of settlement was located along the upper Vistula river, with its center in the vicinity of Cracow. The vast majority of this tribe resettled in the Balkans during the first half of the seventh century. In the following centuries, the remaining Croats were pushed into the inaccessible mountains and were partially assimilated by neighboring tribes. As a result of this process, there followed a severing of Croatian tribal territory in the vicinity of the Moravian Gate [a mountain pass in northern Moravia, Czechoslovakia]. By the tenth century, two branches of this tribe already existed: the western branch — in the Elbe River basin as far as the Lser River [that is, Lusatia, in present-day East Germany], whose existence is confirmed by Czech sources; and the eastern branch — from the Raba River to the sources of the Prut and Seret [that is, Galicia, in present-day western Ukraine] mentioned, in turn, in Rusyn sources. The western, lesser, part vanished without a trace, while the eastern part, incorporated into Rus', preserved itself in large measure, revealing until today a distinct cultural and linguistic character, despite accepting the name of Rusyns.

At the time I felt like the speaker in [the Lemko writer] Pavel Stefanovs'kyj's poem: "... And believe me, I found the obliterated traces ..."

Along my journey, as it were, I came to know the official [Polish] theory proclaiming the Vlach (by then the Vlach-Rusyn) origin of the Lemkos, who were supposed to have wandered into the Beskyd Mountains in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, the fifteenth century. On the other hand, there does exist proof that the Lemkos lived in the Beskyds already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; in other words, two centuries earlier than the [Polish] theory allows. In my opinion the [Polish] theory is made to supplement the existing state of affairs by suggesting that [the king of Poland], Casimir the Great (reigned 1330-1370) occupied ethnically Polish territories in 1344 and then settled Vlachs and Rusyns there.

The Ukrainian theory also has a few holes. According to it, we are simply Ukrainians who have been living in the Beskyd Mountains since time immemorial, and that our linguistic differences originate in the fact that we succumbed to Polish influences.

Well, we have without a doubt also succumbed to Polish influences. But with regard to language they were, in my opinion, above all Rusyn influences (or Ukrainian influences, if you use contemporary nomenclature). And it is precisely these influences which explain the fact that in the eastern Lemko Region and along the Lemko-Bojko borderland, the accent begins to become mobile, while at the same time the Lemkos in [the Prešov Region of] Slovakia have their accent fixed on the penultimate syllable despite the lack of contact with Poles! The Polonisms or Slovakisms cited by researchers in the Lemko language may just as well have come from tribal times when they entered into the framework of Old Church Slavonic, a common language for very many tribes, and that they disappeared or became transformed in other [Slavic] languages while they were preserved in Lemko and Polish or in Lemko and Slovak.

Either way, whosever influences they were, and however strong they were, they were not so important as to liquidate the consciousness of our distinct character. In this regard, an essential element was the fact that after World War II, the Lemko Region did not find itself within the borders of the Soviet Ukraine. If we were officially recognized as Ukrainians, we would have had no choice. Of course, I do not wish to say that scattering us throughout Poland was such a great fortune. Quite the contrary. Since the Union of Brest of 1596, [dispersion] has been our greatest misfortune. Nevertheless, we have the possibility (albeit very small) of choosing our own path. The present state of affairs has in the end determined this choice.

Returning to the point, however, I believe that our theory is the clearest, and that it explains in a satisfactory manner the problems associated with the distinct character of Lemkos. The matter will obviously demand thorough study and linguistic analyses, but it is interesting inasmuch as we ourselves, the Lemkos, will do this. After all, our diaspora has its good side as well. We presently have at our disposal, as never before in history, an enormous intellectual potential.

The Lemkos are eager for learning. It seems that on the average they are more educated than the Poles. Moreover, this can be explained by their inferiority complex and desire to compensate for it precisely through education. Probably all minority groups have such a tendency; hence, we find many great people in Polish history with foreign-sounding names. In any case, in those villages (three in number) where we checked, the Lemkos were better educated on the whole. Incomplete data from two other small towns seems to confirm this fact as well.

Assuming that we descend from the White Croats, the history of our people reaches back to the fifth century, when "through the Carpathian mountain passes and the Moravian Gate, the Dulebian, Serbian, and Croatian peoples wandered ... southward, having inhabited up to then the lands on the upper Bug, Dniester and Vistula Rivers." (Jerzy Skowronek et al., *History of the Southern and Western Slavs*, Warsaw, 1977, p. 19). Fifteen centuries of history — probably reason enough to be proud? And this is precisely how I began to be proud of my ancestry.

Meanwhile, the children of my parents were growing up. I began "frequenting" dances, parties, and discotheques. At home I was never told outright, "Don't associate with a Polish girl." Yet on such occasions I always saw a hidden tension and disquiet in my mother's eyes. Father kept silent and did not even look at me, and yet I knew!

Don't go there, don't go, DON'T GO!!! Those words hung, almost sounded, in the air. But I did go, laughing — I won't marry a Polish girl after all — that's obvious. They should trust me.

I understood that they should not have been so trusting when my brothers began to associate with Polish girls. "I can't be sorry enough," my mother once told me, "that I never intruded into your personal affairs. At least then I wouldn't hold it against myself."

I will never forget that! My parents' faces and eyes drawn with pain. Their eyes which expressed amazement as well as pain. "After all, it can't be true!!!"

But it was true.

Sometimes it happened that I went to so-called "Ukrainian dances" (organized by the USKT — the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society), at which the people present easily numbered more than ninety percent Lemkos. On those occasions, I received a blessing [from my parents], not expressed in words, but given through a glance, gesture, smile, and totally joyful atmosphere at home. Yet at the same time, it is interesting that associating with Ukrainians is almost equally unfavourably regarded, although Lemko parents are not afraid of this. Ukrainianization is completely unattractive for young Lemkos.

It seems that Ukrainian activists were severely disappointed in their politics toward us. Lemkos were lured into cooperating after 1956 with promises of a broad autonomy within the framework of the USKT which was being created just

then. They were given control over a section of that society's newspaper, *Naše slovo*, and that section was called the *Lemkivs'ke slovo*. In the central administration of the USKT, whose members included quite a number of Lemkos, a Lemko committee was created. However, the Lemkos were expelled rather quickly from the management board; the Lemko committee was dissolved; and the *Lemkivs'ke slovo* section was reduced to a "Lemko Page," (*Lemkivs'ka storona*), which at present is Lemko in name only. This means that although Lemkos are still being written about, it is now most often in Ukrainian.

In the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, a network of schools was established with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. However, in Lemko communities this initiative fizzled out after a few years. The Ukrainian attempt, not the first in history, was a flash in the pan. Nevertheless, the Ukrainianization of *Naše slovo* persisted as if nothing happened. And it still persists. The Ukrainian activists certainly assumed that the Lemkos, wishing to avoid Polonization, would have to become Ukrainianized, since in the final analysis the Ukrainian language is much closer to Lemko than is Polish.

This is a mistaken assumption. Lemkos are still able to be themselves, and if they are now losing their national character, it is precisely through Polonization! The fact that it is the Polish language which is closer to the young generation was not taken into account. All of us know it perfectly, in contrast to Ukrainian, if only because we received our entire education in Polish. In addition, a very hostile attitude towards Ukrainians is prevalent in Poland (related as it is to the loss of "Polish" Lwów and the postwar "afterglow in the Bieszczady Mountains"). So why should we have to become Ukrainianized, especially since neither we nor our ancestors ever regarded ourselves as Ukrainian? Ultimately there is no one logical reason, no incentive, no attraction, or no convenience in becoming Ukrainian. For this reason, our parents do not even think of fearing Ukrainianization.

To tell the truth, we really have only one honourable, though inconvenient, way out: to continue being ourselves!

Our parents also wish as their salvation that we take Lemkos for our lifelong partners. Normally, this would be the most pleasant and convenient solution. Most often parents exert the following kind of pressure on their children: "She can be whomever you like, so long as she's a Lemko." Yet at the same time, they create no conditions for their offspring to help fulfill such wishful thinking (generally you will not find a Lemko girl for miles). On the whole, Polish girls are more enterprising in this respect and more active in affairs of the heart than are Lemko girls. The situation is similar with Lemko boys. Too often they are not nearly aggressive enough in comparison with their Polish peers, even though the [geographic] dispersal of our youth demands much, much more "aggressiveness" and courting on their part. In effect, parental pressure on the young people mentioned above produces the exact opposite. Young people put possible candidates "under the microscope" in the fear that he/she is a "defective item," and they will find fault with anything.

"First, let it be someone whom I like and (very important)

whom I will pick out myself, and only later, please Lord, may she be a Lemko."

How many times have I experienced something similar, falling in love with my Annas. Through some strange coincidence, I have almost always taken a liking to Annas.

Where are you, my Anna?

The name itself is extremely dear to me. It is the most beautiful one in the world. For me it is synonymous with feminine beauty, wisdom, and goodness. I recently drew a portrait of E., but again Anna appeared on the page.

Oh, Anna, Anna . . . If only you did not have to be a Lemko.

How strong the national barrier continues to be. Then there exists still another, almost equally strong barrier among Lemkos themselves, which divides them into two enemy groups. This is the denominational barrier.

"You know," said Olja, a mathematics student, to me recently, "'Caesar' has stopped seeing me since I told him that I was Orthodox." "What a fool," I thought, and I began to reflect upon this great misfortune of ours. So few in number, scattered around the world, and we are still divided into Uniates and Orthodox.

The Union of Brest of 1596, introduced as it was by subterfuge and force, is producing its terrible fruits to this very day. It was probably an act of Satan himself dressed in Jesuit robes. After all, there is only one God and "one Lemko Region above us."

Here in the West is a town in and around which many Lemkos live. There is also a clearly delineated denominational division. The Orthodox have a magnificent church comparable to a cathedral — formerly a Protestant church not wanted by the Poles after the war since they occupied a small Catholic church nearby. The Uniates also use this [smaller Polish] church, although they find themselves in the position of beggars having to put up with various caprices of the landlords. For instance, there have been times when Poles have chased them right out of the church, saying: "What are you looking for here, Lemkos, when two hundred meters away you have your Lemko [Orthodox] church?" Tasteless "jokes" were played on them as well, but our Lemkos bore them with a humility that sometimes bordered on a lack of dignity.

My ears burn whenever I think about it. Why? Because this is my nation about which I should like to be able to be proud. It is interesting that the Poles have greater respect for Orthodox Lemkos and even devote a fair amount of attention to them in their mass media. The well-known saying should obviously be quoted here: "The black man did his thing, the black man can leave." Hence, the Uniate is no longer of any use to anybody, least of all to those who created the Union . . .

Come to us brothers. To our Orthodox Church. Don't let yourselves be knocked around from corner to corner. Nobody will speak badly of you or scowl at you. Quite the contrary. Tears would well up in the eyes of many of us. Tears of emotion and joy. After all, you are the blood of our blood, the other half of our nation.



The Lemkovyna Folk Ensemble performing in Sanok, Poland, 1982.

Come, brothers. It will be better and happier for us together. Easier to overcome our difficulties. No, we don't want to draw you into Orthodoxy. You can even be Muslims if it's what you want, but you are first of all Lemkos, and aside from us, aside from ourselves, we have no one . . .

Among the older Uniate Lemkos there is such a strong dislike of the Orthodox, and if that is difficult to justify, it is just as hard to imagine what could be done to change the situation. However, something is beginning to happen among the youth. Young people are beginning to talk among themselves and are coming to the conclusion that this religious division is simply idiotic. Religion is beginning to be a private matter, while Lemko ancestry is becoming a matter of priority. These first swallows heralding the "coming end of our stupidity" delight us to no end. I think the time is not far off when Uniates and Orthodox will work arm and arm in the field of national culture and the preservation of tradition in order to rescue our folklore and the remains of our material culture. Until now such activity has (with a few laudable exceptions) rested almost exclusively on the shoulders of the Orthodox. From now on, however, this will simply be our common, national concern. For at this moment Lemkos no longer "fit in" with any other nationality, and however one might try to give it a formal name, if they are not yet a nationality, they certainly are an ethnic group making great strides toward attaining a consciousness that they *are* a nationality.

Most certainly we are not Russians, nor Belorussians, neither are we nor do we wish to be Ukrainians. Rusyns, in the sense of a nationality that once inhabited Rus', no longer exist, because Rus' doesn't exist either! (Nor did we realize that Rusyns called themselves by a different name.) However, at our present stage of development, we definitely belong

to the same group as the East Slavic nationalities which, along with the others, derives from the historical context of the Rusyns? This, unfortunately, is a result of our geographical situation and, so to speak, historico-political processes. Denial of, or insensitivity towards, this process leads to a separation from Lemko reality.

It was perhaps a year ago that the following people were sitting around and chatting. There was Nina, whom the authorities did not want to register by that name (since it wasn't in the Polish calendar) and who therefore had a different one on her identity card; Olja (with the same name on her card); Kasia (her name was in the calendar); a few Janeks, Wlo-deks, and others. I don't remember all of them. They were students and graduates of higher institutions of learning. Some could not speak Lemko at all. Also, they knew rather little about themselves. But today these same people form a strong group with a Lemko national consciousness. In consultation with Polish cultural and educational activists, the group wants to form a Lemko folklore ensemble in Wroclaw, to publish a Lemko song-book, and it dreams of producing a dictionary of the Lemko language. This is a true mark of the rate of change occurring in the national consciousness of Lemko youth.

At one of the social meetings of this group, there appeared a young Ukrainian who was notably ill-disposed towards so-called "Lemko separatism." To his question, "Why can't the Lemko question be an internal matter of the USKT?," he received the answer: "Because for the USKT there is no question at all!!!" Lemkos are simply Ukrainians and there is nothing more to be said.

However, if the matter is not mentioned, this does not mean it does not exist. Ukrainians refuse to think about any

sort of Lemko autonomy within the framework of the USKT, stating that this is separatism and a weakening of an already weak Ukrainian community in Poland. They also oppose all attempts at creating some kind of separate "Lemko Society." To a certain extent, I can understand them. They have their own interests with regard to Lemkos. However, I cannot at all understand the Poles, who have undermined repeated attempts at creating a "Society for Supporters of Lemko Culture." Is this not strange in light of the arguments used by the Ukrainians? Could it be a fear of some territorial revindication? If so, it is without foundation. Lemkos have already put down roots in their new places of habitation, and they are not even thinking of returning to the Beskyd Mountains. This is because for the most part younger Lemkos are neither shepherds nor farmers. What would they do there?

Those Lemkos who are scattered throughout Poland are slowly succumbing to assimilation (as it is so nicely called, isn't it?). But is it not high time for Polish society to take the Lemkos under their protection? Why, endangered species of animals and even plants are being protected. And all we want is the possibility of legal activity. Lemkos have always been loyal to the Polish state and apolitical. In any case, there is no wiser path for a national minority than political neutrality.

It is sad to look at those Lemkos who choose the "undignified but convenient" way out. They are afraid of their own shadows! They change their first and last names (like one man who had changed his name twice, to Bazyli and Wacław, although Poles still called him Vasył'). They no longer speak Lemko even at home. They are also teaching their children only Polish, for which, however, they achieve the exact opposite of what they wish. In the end, Poles despise them instead of respecting them (always mindful of their own several million strong Polish diaspora abroad which similarly should preserve its national identity within a foreign environment). At the same time, fellow Lemkos look down with pity on those who are so desperately trying to become Polish. Couples who are in such mixed Polish-Lemko marriages are isolated from both groups; hence they are attempting to create social groups of "mixed people," who seem to think they are "being assimilated." Yet, at times the Lemko speech of their parents is heard and it grates unpleasantly. It could be at a baptism party, where hearing a Lemko song will gnaw at one's insides. At the same time, the pain of guilt from trying to run from one's own culture will arise and then be soothed by drowning in alcohol.

We have experienced various high and low points in the course of history, yet we have not completely dissolved into any one of the elements surrounding us. For certain, our borderland situation at the meeting place of three peoples, Rusyn, Polish and Slovak, and along the boundary of the East and West Slavic language groups, has had an enormous significance. Our neighbours' influences have seemingly pressed in upon us together. Nonetheless, it is difficult to resist the impression that something valuable still lies in this quiet, peaceful, and happy people wracked by the stormy winds of history, yet always managing to survive unbroken. After every storm, wherever it may be, someone

seems to rise and begin to look around. Where are our own people? Is there anyone still left?

Someone is still left!!!

Here rise the "young granite ranks."

I remember how my parents cried when they watched the Lemkovyna Song and Dance Ensemble on television. "Dear God, after the war we thought that everything was finished, that we would no longer hear the Lemko tongue, that we would disappear completely in five or ten years."

However, with a most admirable stubbornness and a desperate hopelessness that flies in the face of all logic, these people taught their children the Lemko language. They transmitted to us all that they knew and whenever they had a moment of rest.

GLORY TO YOU, FATHER AND MOTHER.

Your hearts will forever shine for me like road signs on the road from which I shall never stray!

Jaroslav Hunka

P.S. If someone should conclude from what was said above that Lemkos "do not like" Ukrainians, this would be an error. Even if one knows only a bit of history, it is difficult not to like and respect Ukrainians, whose songs are well-known and loved by us. On the other hand, we *do not like* people who, ascribing to themselves the right to exist, deny us the same right!

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

The Lemko question is not without controversy. Its many dimensions elicit opposing points of view that are often as passionate, strongly held, and forcefully presented as those of you have just read. The moving essay you have just read, by Jaroslav Hunka, presents but one viewpoint of Lemko history, their present condition in Poland, and their prospects and aspirations for the future. In keeping with our long standing policy of presenting all sides of the controversial subjects we air in the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, our next newsletter (Spring 1988) will bring to you other viewpoints on the issues raised by Jaroslav Hunka. In brief, we will present a series of critical responses directed to him, a letter from the Soviet Ukraine on the Lemko present and future, and our own summation of the Lemko question.

Many of America's Carpatho-Rusyns claim a Lemko heritage, and so we have no doubt that the "Lemkos Today" essay raised both questions and passions among you, our readership — your voices need also be heard. We invite your responses to the issues raised by Hunka, and will print as broad a selection of them as space in the newsletter permits.

GUEST COMMENTARY: THE RISE AND FALL OF A FOLK ENSEMBLE

In 1960, I joined a "dance group" in my church that was preparing for a community ethnic festival. Then about thirteen years old, I began to learn about my heritage. Seventeen years later, as I watched my two children doing what I had done, a fire was kindled; almost like the mythical phoenix, a dance group arose from that fire. "Rusyny" was born on June 4, 1978.

Rusyny — Carpatho-Rusyn Folk Ensemble, co-sponsored by Saint Nicholas Church (McKeesport, Pennsylvania) and the United Societies of U.S.A. existed for ten seasons as a family folk group. It was a labor of love for those who joined. We became an organization with written by-laws and a developing repertoire that expressed the spirit of our people. In over seventy shows the family spirit we shared with our audiences carried us through; our beautiful Rusyn songs and dances became a medium of expression through which we grew together and shared much joy. In many ways, we had the time of our lives!

This past summer we had to make a decision: could Rusyny continue as a viable, living representation of our Carpatho-Rusyn heritage, or should it fold? In September, we disbanded.

My ten years of experience with folk groups shows that there are similar reasons why groups come to the end of the road. Among the top reasons — lack of community support. Groups of volunteers do not continue without interest. There were many selfless volunteers, and though the community lends some financial support, it is limited. Unfortunately, the American Carpatho-Rusyns are not informed and dedicated enough to realize the need for promoting their Rusyn heritage.

Time is another major factor. It takes time to arrange music and choreography. Organizing practice schedules can become almost impossible, with school activities and other interests taking away from "free" time that our members had. Even scheduling and well-organized instruction were not enough.

Is it all worth saving? Emphatically, YES! Can groups be saved? Probably, but not with simple solutions. In fact, our own lack of ethnic awareness needs to be addressed first.

We, as a people, need to think about the fact that so many other nationalities have no problems with self-identity. Irish, Polish, Greek, Italian — they all know their roots, and most communities celebrate their ethnicity. St. Patrick's day, Columbus day, the Sons of Italy — we all know about them! In Pittsburgh, they still dance the Tarantella at Italian weddings; the Polka has become synonymous with the Polish nationality, even though other nationalities polka too! Are the other ethnic groups any better than us? No, they just seem to have more pride and better public relations. Are we ashamed of who we are? We have no reason to be!

The Rusyny ensemble was a labor of love. We are not totally discouraged from its disintegration. There is always hope for the future. Perhaps some day one of our children will see their children dancing, and the fire will be lit again. Through education, understanding, tolerance of our fellow humans, and interest and support, maybe even our people can survive!

A. G. Kovaly
McKeesport, Pennsylvania

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Švetlosť (Enlightenment), Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-6 (Novi Sad, 1983), 696 p.

Tvorčosc: hlasnjik Družtva za rusky jazyk y lyteraturu (Works: Organ of the Society for Rusyn Language and Literature), Vol. IX (Novi Sad, 1983), 112 p.

Ullmann, Walter. "Great Britain and the Cession of Transcarpathian Ruthenia, 1945," *East European Quarterly*, XVII, 2 (Boulder, Colo., 1983), pp. 173-183.

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RECENT EVENTS

Cracow, Poland. The Lemkos in Canada was the subject of a lecture by Professor Paul R. Magocsi of the University of Toronto delivered at the Jęgiellonian University in Cracow on September 2, 1987. Professor Magocsi was part of an official Canadian delegation taking part in a conference on Poles and other ethnic groups from historic Poland living in Canada. While in southeastern Poland, Professor Magocsi was received as representative of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center by Bishop Adam Dubec of the Orthodox Eparchy of Sanok-Nowy Sącz; by Fedir Goč, founder and director of the Lemko Regional Museum in Zyndranowa; and by several Lemko writers and scholars.

Novi Sad, Yugoslavia. On September 15, 1987, Professor Paul R. Magocsi delivered a lecture on recent scholarship in Carpatho-Rusyn Studies at a seminar organized by the Society for Rusyn Language and Literature and the Department of Rusyn Language and Literature at the University of Novi Sad. Professor Magocsi spoke in Vojvodinian Rusyn, and his lecture together with a display of publications distributed by our Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center was featured on Novi Sad television, which has a daily program in the Rusyn language — the only one in the world.

Montreal, Quebec — Hartford, Connecticut. Between September 23 and October 18 the Lemkovyna Folk Ensemble from Poland completed a successful concert tour that brought them to 4 cities in eastern Canada and 17 cities in the northcentral and northeastern United States, including centers of heavy Rusyn-American population such as Pittsburgh; Parma, Ohio; New York City; and Yonkers, New York. The company of 40 singers and musicians presented a lively and moving program of Lemko songs, which by their čardaś-like rhythms and style clearly revealed how much they are similar to Rusyn folk music south of the Carpathians with little or no Polish or Galician Ukrainian influence.

Although the musical program was entirely in Lemko Rusyn dialect, the master of ceremonies who introduced each number (and who is not a member of the ensemble) spoke only in Ukrainian. This is because the concert tour was sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and Ukrainian National Association in the United States. While lovers of authentic Rusyn culture must be grateful to Ukrainians in North America who had the initiative to bring the Lemkovyna Ensemble here, it is hoped that in the future some Rusyn-American organization (at the very least the Lemko Sojuz) will have the foresight to organize a similar tour which will not, because of the particular needs of the sponsor, have to provide a Ukrainian facade.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania. On October 25, 1987, St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Church sponsored its 6th Annual Carpatho-Rusyn Celebration under the direction of the Reverend Eugene Yackanich. Each year thousands of people from the greater Uniontown area and beyond attend this lively and well prepared cultural event. A menu of delicious Carpatho-Rusyn foods was served throughout the day. This festival is the only Carpatho-Rusyn church festival known to be held in the United States.

Minneapolis, Minnesota. On Saturday, November 7, 1987, Dr. Patricia Krafcik spoke on the noble brigand or "Robin Hood" tradition in Carpatho-Rusyn folklore and about her travels and studies in the Carpathian region. This event was co-sponsored by the Youth Balalaika Orchestra of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral, and by the Rusin Association. More than 60 people attended. The following day, after liturgy, Dr. Krafcik made a presentation in the cathedral on behalf of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. The presentation to the clergy and people of St. Mary's was in recognition of the achievement of the 100th anniversary of the parish. The Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center donated a copy of *Our People*, by Paul Magocsi, to the parish library.

Boston, Massachusetts. For the first time, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center was represented at the 19th Annual National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, which is the publisher of the scholarly quarterly journal, *Slavic Review*, and the largest professional organization of American Slavists. The C-RRC had its own booth at the convention, held at the Park Plaza Hotel, November 5-8, 1987. The display, which featured all works published and/or distributed by our center, was under the direction of C-RRC advisory board member Mary Ann Gaschnig and long-time supporter Mary Ellen Foulds, both of North Andover, Massachusetts. Over 2,000 professional Slavists, librarians, and government administrators viewed the exhibit.



Mary Ellen Foulds answering questions at the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center book display at the Slavic Convention, Boston.

Kiev, USSR. On December 2-3, 1987, Dr. Paul R. Magocsi represented the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center at meetings with the Ukraina Society in Kiev. Discussions focussed on relations of the C-RRC with cultural and scholarly organizations in the Soviet Ukraine, in particular as they concern the receipt of recent publications, our translation series — Classics in Carpatho-Rusyn Scholarship, and exchanges of scholars and choreographers. Dr. Magocsi was in the Soviet Union as one of eight Slavists chosen to represent the United States at a scholarly conference sponsored jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences, held at the Institute for Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow, November 22-30.

FROM OUR READERS

To the Editor:

The summer and fall issues of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* have brought into focus for the readers of the newsletter the need for the establishment of a university chair of Carpatho-Rusyn studies. In addition, the idea of a national festival and organization of a "Friends" group were mentioned. All of these are ideas that have much to commend them as the need is certainly there and the benefits would be incalculable. All are responsible undertakings requiring much planning and participation. There would be a need for dedicated commitment on the part of all. Though I live a great distance from any contact with Carpatho-Rusyns, my heritage, interest, and support are with you. Perhaps I could even help in some way to help these plans come to fruition.

I eagerly await each issue of the newsletter. We recipients of the dedicated service of the people who make up the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* are indeed fortunate. You do a tremendous job. Thank you!

Helen K. Aldrich
Bend, Oregon

Please note. Wherever you may live, and whatever your talents, you can help the Carpatho-Rusyn American and the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. Our volunteers who put out the newsletter and help the Research Center, do so long distance. We live and work in Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Ontario, and draw on the help of people throughout the United States and throughout the world, communicating by letter and phone, with few opportunities to meet face to face. We are all volunteers and always welcome others to join us. If you care to help in any way, please contact me.

The Editor

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters to the editor appear in our **From Our Readers** section and are always welcome. We invite, and will publish as space permits, viewpoints on all sides of the issues we present in the newsletter, and other issues that relate to our Carpatho-Rusyn community. If, at all possible, type your letters, and in all cases include your phone number and return address so that authorship can be verified. We also invite you to submit articles you wish to have considered for publication.

DONATIONS

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* is often the recipient of gifts for which we are most appreciative and without which we would be hard pressed to survive. All of the money we receive, unless the donor requests we use it for some specific purpose, goes into our general budget and is used to meet the expenses of producing the newsletter. These expenses keep mounting year by year, and include not only printing and distribution costs, but also costs incurred in securing and translating the high quality, original material we always try to bring you.

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OUR FRONT COVER

A Lemko who has returned to his native village of Bartne. Photographed, 1985.

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